HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Despite Borman Welcome

Soviets Spurn Space Cooperation

By PAUL SCOTT

Despite the warm public welcome Astronaut Frank Borman received from Soviet leaders in Moscow, the United States is finding it almost impossible to obtain meaningful Soviet cooperation in space.

In effect, the U.S.-Russian exchange of information from space experiments agreed to in 1962 has turned into a one way street.

While American space officials have gone out of their way to flood Moscow with timely and significant weather and space data gathered by orbiting U.S. satellites, the Kremlin's cooperation has consisted of sending to the United States unusable or unimportant information.

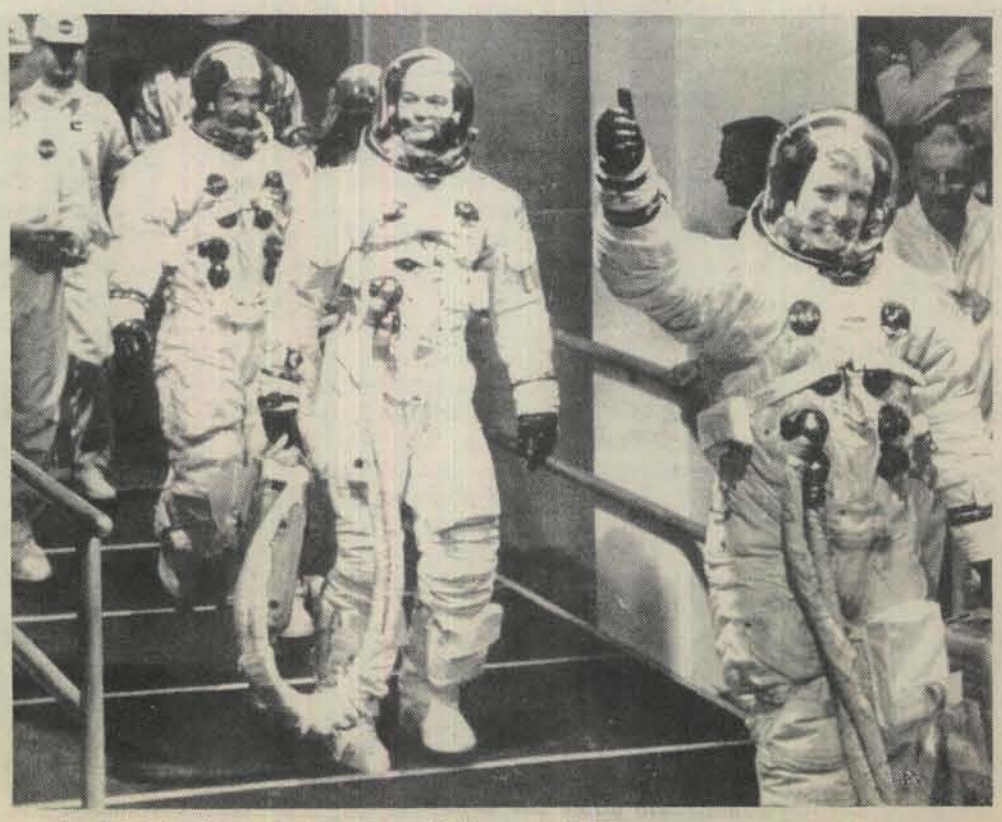
That's the report officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) have given Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.), ranking Republican on the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee.

Sen. Smith, who also serves on the Senate's CIA watchdog subcommittee which keeps tabs on Soviet space activities, requested the report on U.S.-Soviet space cooperation to meet growing criticism of the Nixon Administration in this field.

For several weeks, a group of liberal senators headed by Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.), a member of the Senate space panel, has been pressuring the Administration and calling publicly for more U.S.-Soviet space cooperation. The private and public statements of these Senators indicated that the U.S. was to blame for lack of cooperation.

In a blunt answer to the Hatfield group, Sen. Smith prepared a detailed report for submission to the Senate which clearly shows that the Russians are the ones that are dragging their feet.

"The U.S. has made frequent and repeated efforts to persuade the Soviets to enter new space projects but our initiatives have not been accepted." reported Sen Smith.



Apollo 11 astronauts Armstrong, Collins and Aldrin prepare to board their spacecraft before their heroic mission. Although the United States has given much space data to the Russians, the latter have not been so generous.

In sharp contrast to these repeated offers to cooperate, she pointed out that "a joint review of space medicine is the only Soviet proposal which has been made and not subsequntly withdrawn."

The tremendous difficulty in trying to get the Russians to cooperate in exchanging space information is highlighted in the following information NASA furnished Sen. Smith:

"(1) **Meteorology**—A Washington-Moscow communication channel was set up under a Soviet-U.S. agreement, but to date the Soviet data has not been operationally useful to us. It has not been possible to move to the second part of the proposed agreement which called for coordinated weather satellites by the two nations.

"(2) **Magnetic Field Mapping**—As of the present time, no exchange of satellite data has yet taken place. Arrangements have been made for exchange of ground-based data but these have not been completely successful either since the Russians have transmitted no information to the U.S.

"(3) **Communications**—Cooperative communication experiments using the U.S. passive satellite Echo II were completed in February, 1964. In this event, the Soviets received communications only, declining to transmit.

"(4) **Space Biology and Medicine**—This called for preparation and publication of a joint review of space biology and medicine. Although the U.S. team is engaged in putting together the basic material, for almost two years the Soviet side has failed to reply to correspondence."

An exchange between Sen. Smith and Dr. Robert M. White, Administrator of NASA's Environmental Science Services Administration, clearly shows how the Soviets have used the weather exchange agreement with the U.S. to their advantage.

As taken from the Senate Committee's official transcript, the exchange went like this:

Sen. Smith: Do I understand correctly that we have transmitted to Moscow cloud analyses covering half the world and selected cloud photographs without interruption since September 1966.

Dr. White: That is correct.

Sen. Smith: On the other hand, although the Soviets have launched a total of seven satellites during that period, there have been numerous interruptions in the transmission of data, at one time for a period of four months from Russia?

Dr. White: That is correct.

Sen. Smith: Is it also true that because of insufficient coverage by Soviet satellites, the utility of their information is much less than that of ours?

Dr. White: That is correct.

Sen. Smith: Is it also accurate to state that data received from Moscow are of marginal quality and are received quite late and after periods of usefulness?

Dr. White: That is true.

With the help of NASA officials, Sen. Smith also has compiled for circulation among members of the Senate a list of 18 initiatives that the U.S. put forward since 1959 seeking Soviet cooperation in space.

Only when the Russians could obtain new space data without giving anything worthwhile in return did the Soviets accept the initiatives. In most cases, the Russians either didn't reply to the U.S. offer or rejected it outright.

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Capital Briefs

● Contrary to expectations, Defense Secretary **Melvin Laird,** a hard-liner on most military matters, is providing extremely "dovish" counsel to the President on the Viet Nam war. In his days in Congress, Laird not only called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops, but suggested that he might favor a coalition government, but at that time Laird was claiming that almost any policy would be better than fighting a "no-win" war conducted by the Democrats. But Laird, according to well informed sources, rather than pressing now for military victory, is still pushing a soft line on Viet Nam with the new Administration.

● Diplomatic circles still remain considerably concerned over President Nixon's selection of **Gerard C. Smith,** boss of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, to head the American team that will negotiate with the Soviets on arms control. Smith, who received his job with the aid of White House adviser Henry Kissinger, is said to have very mushy views in this area and has told intimates privately that he is opposed to the President's decision to deploy the ABM.

● **Michael Harrington,** the national chairman of the Socialist party, has announced that the party is abandoning all efforts to create a third political force in the United States and will, instead join with left-wing Democrats to tilt America portside. The move to work totally within the Democratic party rather than to form a major third party is the first such significant policy change since the party was founded some 50 years ago.

● In the "How's that again" category: Last week Sen. **Alan Cranston** (D.-Calif.) asked the Pentagon to establish true neutrality in the California grape strike controversy. The first step in achieving this neutrality, he said, would be a Defense Department cut-back in grape orders.

● The Republicans may have won the White House, but the heart of the **State Department** still belongs to the Democrats. Last week a visitor to the office of a deputy under secretary of state was astonished to see large portraits of LBJ and JFK adorning the walls. Conspicuously missing: a picture of Richard Nixon.

● Assistant HEW Secretary **James Farmer,** perhaps the most radical denizen of Robert Finch's liberal enclave, has been selected by President Nixon to head up the sensitive and controversial Head Start pre-school program. Farmer, former head of the militant Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), will also direct children's programs to be set up under the President's newly created Office of Child Development.

● **Barry Goldwater Jr.,** freshman Congressman from California's 27th District, was the hit of the Young Republican Convention in Chicago, getting a standing ovation both when he entered his luncheon to speak and after he spoke. Young Goldwater came down hard on campus violence: "There is no room on the campus for those who would destroy—who would seek their ends through violence, anarchy or sedition. . . It is time to say to students and faculty alike: obey the rules, live up to the standards of your profession, or get out."

● Rep. Burt Talcott (R.-Calif.) has jibed at the "beautiful people" who joined Ethel Kennedy in Southampton, N.Y., "to not eat **California grapes.**" Talcott suggested that Ethel and Co. have a "non-grape-eating party for the New York state grape pickers who earn approximately 45 per cent less than the California grape pickers and who enjoy practically none of the farm labor benefits enjoyed for California farm workers."

● Police investigators in Cleveland have disclosed that city Mayor **Carl Stokes** was marked for assassination by the black militant faction which launched a wave of sniper shootings in the city last July. The snipers, who call themselves the Black Nationalists, were all apprehended, but only after ten persons, including three policemen, were murdered. One of those apprehended and convicted of murder, Fred Ahmed Evans, had previously received a city anti-poverty grant personally approved by Mayor Stokes.

● The owner-editor-publisher of the **Berkeley Barb,** a leading underground anti-Establishment publication, last week was called a "capatalistic bloodsucker" by his employes, who then went out "on strike" against the publication. Editor Max Sherr, a middle-age hippie, had been trying to sell the publication to a group of employes for $140,000. Instead, the employes struck and picketed to demand better pay and working conditions, just like real workers.

● The American Jewish Committee has withdrawn from the **Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization,** chief "Sugar Daddy" to James Forman's movement to grab "reparations" from white church groups (see Human Events, June 28,1969 issue.). AJC officials cited the refusal of IFCO to repudiate Forman's extremist views—including a call to guerrilla warfare—in becoming the first religious group to pull out of IFCO.

● Black Militant fugitive **Eldridge Cleaver** has left his Cuban hideout to attend a Pan African Cultural Festival being sponsored by the bitterly anti-U.S. government of Algeria. Cleaver, an official in the Black Panthers, fled to Cuba after being convicted for breaking parole in Oakland, Calif.

● Note to the IRS: The New York-based **"Norman Thomas Fund,"** advertised as tax-deductable, is sending out fund-raising letters signed by American Socialist party chairman Michael Harrington. Promising that the fund will carry out the "unfinished tasks" of Thomas, the late and well-known Socialist, Harrington says the fund will finance programs aimed at getting interns interested in civil rights, trade unions and peace work. Among the trustees: Norman Cousins, Victor Reuther, Bayard Rustin and Democratic Congressman from New York, Allard K. Lowenstein.

● The foot-in-mouth comments of Chicago Mayor **Richard Daley** have been immortalized in a recent paperback, "Quotations from Mayor Daley." Sample Daleyisms: "Ladies and gentlemen of the League of Women Voters," "Together we must rise to ever higher and higher platitudes," "They have villified me, they have crucified me, yes, they even criticized me."

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NDC Sets Up House

Vividly recalling the disastrous internal upheaval at the Chicago convention, Democratic regulars have been desperately trying to pacify party feuds in time for the 1970 Congressional races. But transforming the Democratic party into a Sea of Tranquility would seem hopeless. For this week the highly combative New Democratic Coalition (NDC), a group of hyperactive liberals feverishly working for "reform" in the Democratic party, is moving its headquarters in Minneapolis to Washington, D.C. The apparent purpose for the shift: to expand its political operations and intensify its drive against conservative-minded Democrats.

To be operating out of Suite 201, 1065 31st St., N.W., the coalition has already drawn up extensive "reform" plans, including the dumping of Democratic incumbents (like Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington), staging militant activities on campus and re-triggering the protest movement against the war in Viet Nam.

What makes the NDC a special Apple of Discord, so far as the Democratic party is concerned, is that important Democratic leaders, such as Senators Teddy Kennedy and George McGovern, are directly or indirectly helping the NDC, despite the outfit's avowed aim of clobbering Democrats, some of them life-long liberals.

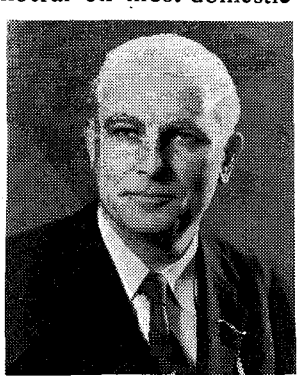
On May 24, in fact, Senators Kennedy, McGovern and Harold Hughes (Iowa) were the principal sepakers at a $100-a-plate NDC dinner at the Sheraton Park Hotel in the Nation's Capital. Sponsoring the dinner were other leading liberal Democrats, including Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (Conn.), Theodore Sorensen, Adlai Stevenson III, Representatives Jonathan Bingham (N.Y.), George E. Brown, Jr., (Calif.), Shirley Chisholm (N.Y.), Don Edwards (Calif.), Donald Fraser (Minn.), Henry Helstoski (N.J.), Andrew Jacobs (Ind.) Edward Koch (N.Y.), Robert Kastenmeier (Wis.), Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.), William F. Ryan (N.Y.), James H. Scheuer (N.Y.), James Symington (Mo.) and Frank Thompson (N.J.).

While raising funds with the aid of prominent Democratic politicians on the one hand, the NDC has then turned right around to use this money against other Democratic politicians. Next year it plans to help provide a "liberal Democratic alternative" to the following Senators:

• Henry Jackson of Washington. Though Jackson has a nearly perfect voting record according to the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) and votes about 70 per cent correct in the view of the Americans for Democratic Action, the NDC is taking aim at Jackson for his hawkish stands on military and diplomatic matters. The Washington Democratic Council, an NDC-spawned organization, met in Seattle this June and agreed to raise a $500,000 kitty for the purpose of running a primary candidate against the senator, because he has allegedly kept "alive a fearful mood of Cold War confrontation. . . ." The anti-Jackson campaign was sparked by Earl Craig Jr., executive director of the NDC. Carl Maxey, the Washington Democratic Council's chairman, has now been put on the NDC steering committee.

• Thomas Dodd of Connecticut. While the Connecticut lawmaker is also a liberal on most domestic

JACKSON



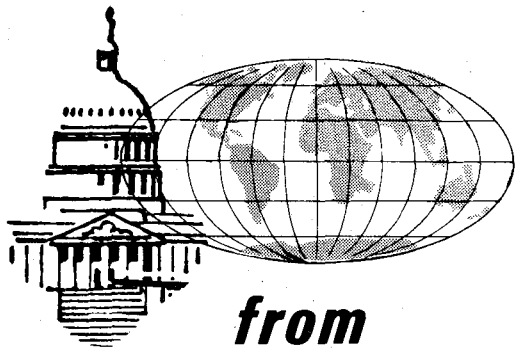
DODD

matters, he has angered the Coalition's radicals by his consistent support of a vigorous anti-Communist foreign policy. Because of Dodd's vulnerability due to his censure by the Senate, the Caucus of Concerned Democrats, Connecticut's NDC affiliate, is making plans to oppose the senator with the Rev. Joseph Duffey. Duffey's liberal credentials are doubly secure: he is not only on the steering committee of the New Democratic Coalition, but he serves as national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

• Gale McGee of Wyoming. Though this former professor of American history entered the Senate in 1959 as a flaming liberal, he has made some remarkable turns to the right in foreign policy in recent years. Because of his strong support of the Viet Nam war effort and the anti-ballistic missile system, McGee is now considered an "enemy" by the NDC crowd.

• Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. A powerful

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

figure within the Democratic party, Byrd's opposition lies with "The Coalition for Alternatives," a mixed bag of liberals whose leader is Dr. Wesley M. Bagby, professor of history at West Virginia University. While the NDC has not yet directly intervened against Byrd, NDC operatives are considering getting behind the "dump Byrd" movement.

Spread out over some 35 states, the NDC is also seriously considering raising opposition candidates to Senators Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), John Pastore (D.-RI.) and other solons who favor the "military-industrial" complex. (Some formerly "military minded" senators, like Missouri's Stuart Symington, former Secretary of the Air Force, will probably be supported because of their anti-ABM campaign. As Missouri's NDC Chairman commented: "Symington has been pretty darn good lately.")

NDC's activities do not end here, however. Like Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) in 1968, the organization has decided to turn to the campus for acquiring precinct workers, agitators and demonstrators who will push for NDC's goals, which include the general radicalization of America.

Meeting in the Nation's Capital on May 25, the NDC steering committee issued a call for a student conference on "Militant Action on the Campus" to be held September 11-13 in Ann Arbor, Michigan. According to the NDC, the conference's central focus will be on proving that student power "can become a major asset in the struggle for a just and a humane society. The promise inherent in the remarkable achievements of the students during the primary campaigns of 1968 can be redeemed."

Another " special concern" of the gathering of some 150 select students "will be with the role that the NDC can play in helping to organize a constructive radicalism on our campuses."

Members and supporters of the NDC are already involved in one of the newest forms of student protests against the war in Viet Nam. The plan calls for students and faculty members on over 500 college campuses across the country to fail to come to school on October 15. Thereafter, the so-called "moratorium" would be expanded each month, (one day in October, two in November, three in December and so on) "until a firm commitment to a definite timetable for total withdrawal [from Viet Nam] is made or until a negotiated settlement is signed."

Organizers of the moratorium are Sam Brown, a fellow at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics and a member of the NDC's steering committee, and David Mixner, a sponsor of that $100-a-plate NDC dinner. Mixner, interestingly enough, is also a staff member of the Democratic National Committee's Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, which is headed by Sen. George McGovern.

Thus the NDC, a collection of Kennedy, McCarthy and McGovern supporters, is clearly out to radicalize the Nation as well as the Democratic party. What political observers are now expecting to see is an eventual explosion between Democrats like Kennedy and McGovern, who have been aiding the NDC financially through fund-raising speeches, and non-NDC Democrats like Jackson and McGee, who have become the NDC's central targets. The Republicans, of course, are hoping to pick up the pieces.

Virginia Demos Choose Liberals

Virginia Democrats went to the polls Tuesday, July 15, to nominate their candidate for governor, but they're going to have to return next month to finish the job. No one candidate received a majority so the two top vote-getters will face a runoff on August 19. This is the first time this has happened in the history of the Old Dominion.

The election has received a good deal of national attention already because it is one of two governor's races this year (the only other is in New Jersey) and three well-known Democrats competed for the nomination which was by all standards the longest and most expensive campaign the state has ever known.

It was mildly surprising that the two most liberal candidates in the race—William Battle and Henry Howell—made the runoff and Lt. Governor Fred Pollard, generally considered the candidate of the conservative Byrd organization, which dominated the party for years, ran a poor third. But Pollard campaigned as a "moderate." He failed to get the endorsement of conservative organization stalwarts and alienated voters by supporting Hubert Humphrey in last year's presidential election.

The most astounding thing about the primary on Tuesday was the small turnout. Although it was the most exciting contest in decades, only one-fourth of the state's registered voters came to the polls. This week's turnout was not much larger than it was twenty years ago despite the fact that there are three times as many voters in Virginia today.

Obviously most of Virginia's conservative voters stayed out of the primary. Thousands have become accustomed to voting for Republican and independent candidates in recent years. (Half of the state's ten congressmen are Republicans, and Virginia has been in the GOP column in four of the last five Presidential elections.)

Gone are the days when the Democratic primary was *the* election in the Old Dominion. Now, as in most other states, it's merely a warm-up for the main event in November. And this year Republicans have an excellent chance to win the contest for the first time in history. Their candidate, Linwood Holton, ran a strong race for governor four years ago.

His chances are improved by the fact that, whatever the outcome of the August Democratic runoff, he will face a relatively liberal opponent in a state where Nixon and Wallace received 68 per cent of the vote last fall—more than twice as many votes as received by all three of the contenders in last Tuesday's primary.

Byrd to Go GOP?

Democratic Sen. Harry Byrd Jr. of Virginia is under increasing pressure to "pull a Thurmond" and join the Republicans, and the results of last week's Democratic gubernatorial primary could very possibly make up Byrd's mind for him.

Sources close to the rock-ribbed conservative say that he was deeply shaken by the Democratic primary in which Lt. Gov. Fred Pollard, candidate of the old Byrd organization, received only 23 per cent of the vote.

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"There are just as many conservatives in Virginia as there ever were," explained one Virginia politico close to the organization. "But for more than a decade they have been into the Republican party and the time is not far off when it will be impossible for any conservative—even a Byrd—to win a statewide Democratic primary. Maybe that time's now."

Byrd is certain to face strong Democratic opposition next year. Most GOP leaders who have been working on Byrd for some time have assured him that he can have the GOP nomination without a struggle and that he would automatically control the party machinery.

McGovern's Viet Mission

Diplomatic experts attached to the White House are still fuming at Sen. George McGovern's (D.-S.D.) recent revelation that he spent 12 hours last May secretly interviewing North Viet Nam's top negotiators at the Paris peace talks. The South Dakota lawmaker, who insists he violated no law, has still not revealed exactly what went on at this tete-a-tete with Communist officials. He has given only peripheral information. Nor, it is pointed out, has he made it clear as to whether he had any sort of U.S. approval for his private conference.

McGOVERN

In his speech on the Senate floor in early July "explaining" his mission, McGovern claimed he flew to Paris "after conferring with Ambassador Lodge and the State Department about my intentions," but he never revealed just what sort of response our officials made to him. If it had been favorable, there seems no question but that McGovern would have said so.

Even more incredible, South Dakota's most noted dove came away from Paris parroting the Communist line down to the last dotted "i." As a result of his conversations, McGovern told his Senate colleagues, he could assure them, "There will be no negotiations in Paris or elsewhere worthy of the name until we stop our offensive military operations and begin the systematic withdrawal of all of our forces—preferably during the next 12 months." McGovern then went on to bolster Hanoi's demands that there will be no negotiations "so long as we continue our unqualified embrace of the Thieu-Ky regime."

Equally astonishing, McGovern then went on to take the word of the Communists that there would be no bloodbath during or after an American withdrawal. When he brought this question up with Hanoi, said McGovern, "they replied that just the opposite would happen—the killing would stop—that the bloodbath . . . could be stopped in the event of an American withdrawal."

While McGovern did say that asylum might be given to those few who fear withdrawal of our forces, he clearly did not attach much importance to this idea. The major thrust of his remarks showed he believed the Communists when they said no bloodbath would occur.

The South Dakotan's faith in Ho Chin Minh is considered incredible. Vietnamese experts have estimated that more than 500,000 peasants were systematically slaughtered by the Ho Chi Minh regime, or died in forced labor camps, during the "Agrarian Reform campaign" in North Viet Nam in 1956. Since Ho began hostilities in the South, the terror campaign has claimed the lives of 20,000 civilians, including village chiefs, government officials, teachers, doctors and community leaders at every level. Perhaps the most dramatic incident revealing the way in which Hanoi and the Viet Cong conduct terror campaigns occurred during the Communist Tet offensive in January of 1968.

During the Tet offensive, the Communists occupied the Hue area for 25 days. When they were finally pushed out, it was learned that they had engaged in one of the most brutal terror campaigns on record. Of 3,000 persons missing, bodies of more than 2,200 have since been discovered in shallow trenches. The victims were found in 25 separate mass grave sites. Many had been bound and shot in the back of the head. Many were found bound together in groups of 10 to 15, eyes open, with dirt or cloth in their mouths to stifle screams.

An officer of the 10th Political Warfare Battalion involved in investigating the executions estimated that almost half the victims were found *in conditions indicating that they had been buried* alive.

There were at least three death marches, with a number of victims lined up and machine gunned. Neither one's religion or one's attitude toward the Saigon regime afforded any protection. Scores of Buddhists in Hue's strong, anti-government resistance movement were slaughtered. So, too, were American and German civilians, French priests, South Vietnamese government officials, anyone with relatives in the South Vietnamese Army, village chiefs, political leaders and anyone who worked for the Americans.

Not only did these murders occur, but Hanoi bragged about it. On April 27, 1969, a Hanoi radio broadcast boasted that the bodies discovered in the Hue areas were "hooligan lackeys who had owed blood debts to the . . . Hue compatriots and who were annihilated by the Southern Armed (Viet Cong and North Vietnamese) Forces . . . (last) spring."

Nevertheless, Sen. McGovern chooses to take the Communists at their word when they tell him there won't be any slaughter if the U.S. would just bug out of Viet Nam.

U.S. Appeases Hanoi

While doves like Sen. George McGovern continue to take potshots at the Administration for its policy in Viet Nam, Senate Republicans last week rose on the floor to point out that it has been the United States and the South Vietnamese who have been making all the concessions for peace—not the Communists.

TOWER

Since last October, it was pointed out, the United States has halted the bombing of all North Viet Nam, even though the North is clearly the aggressor in the war. The United States has begun to withdraw combat troops from South Viet Nam, and it is the U.S. that has remained at the conference table in Paris and refrained from any resumption of the bombing despite Hanoi's shelling of South Vietnamese major cities, its violation of the DMZ and its refusal to deal with the Saigon government.

The U.S. has offered the Vietcong participation in elections and the National Liberation Front participation in a mixed election commission. Furthermore, President Thieu of South Viet Nam—facing stiff criticism from his own Senate and Vice President—has also offered the NLF the chance to compete in internationally supervised elections.

Remarked Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.): "People both in and out of government criticize the South Vietnamese for the election they held. They held that election because the Western world urged them to do so. The election was monitored by members of the Senate and by the American committee of monitors. They reported that there were more protections against dishonest elections in Saigon than are provided in any big city in the United States.

"The thing that always disturbs me is that the same people who criticize the electon machinery in South Viet Nam never mention the fact that they do not have any elections at all in North Viet Nam."

Since we have made so many concessions to Hanoi, Mundt added, "Perhaps the time has come to make clear that we have run out of concessions to make, that there is not much more we can offer." Expressing similar sentiments, Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) stated: "I believe it is time the Hanoi regime realized that it has extracted from the United States all the concessions that can be obtained from us, and that now it is their turn to settle down to serious and meaningful negotiations."

Republican Senate reaction was also similar to the reaction of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week:

"The only reaction we get from the other side is totally negative. They call names and use phrases like 'swindle' and 'fraud'. . .So I don't, unfortunately, see any willingness on their part to be reasonable in discussing how the will of the people can be reflected in a settlement." North Viet Nam is "so lacking in humanity," Rogers continued, "that they won't even give us the names of prisoners. . .The wives of these men don't know if they are living or dead."

Despite this impressive testimony, Sen. McGovern and others continue to aim their missiles at the Nixon Administration for failure of the Viet Nam negotiations.

Negro Mayor Boosts GOP

While Dr. George Wiley and his National Welfare Rights Organization are bellyaching about Negroes not getting big enough handouts, the mayor of Highland Park, Michigan, an industrial center with a population of 38,000, a third of whom are blacks, feels that "most of the black community is fed up with the old welfare system which primarily benefits only people who hold jobs in the bureaucracy."

Mayor Robert Blackwell, 47, is the second highest ranking elected black Republican in the nation (just below Sen. Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts). He feels that the current shift to the right by American voters offers hope, not despair, for Negroes seeking elective office. Mayor Blackwell believes that the Republican party, the party of conservatism, is tailor made for black candidates.

Blackwell insists that the Republican philosophy that "people should do by themselves whatever they can, with government help on those things they can't do by themselves" is made-to-order for the emerging philosophy of black self-determination.

He see no reason why the GOP's image as the party of businessmen should not appeal to Negroes. "This means jobs, and when people have decent jobs the other things come naturally," he points out.

Instead of blaming crime by Negroes on "white racism," he urges Negroes to emphasize their own special concern with the problem, since "most crime is committed against Negroes." In his own city, which is enclosed within Detroit, he won the confidence of the police by promising them full support "so long as there was equal justice and no excessive force." After following through on his pledge, he could say with certainty, "I have the overwhelming support of the police department."

Mayor Blackwell has been active in Republican politics for many years. He graduated from Howard University in 1949, and served later as executive secretary of the Michigan Labor Mediation Board. Choosing the GOP over the Democrats, he became a senior advisor and chairman of the Special Activities Committee of the 13th Congressional District Republican Committee.

Blackwell was a member of the Wayne County GOP Committee and the State Republican Central Committee, and served as a member of then Vice President Richard Nixon's Advisory Commission on Minority Affairs. He ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1960 and 1962 and was a delegate to the 1964 Republican National Convention. In 1965, he was overwhelmingly elected to the Highland Park City Council. He was elected as the city's first full-time mayor in 1968 under its new charter.

More on YRs

One of the curiosities of the recent Young Republican National Convention in Chicago (see Human Events, July 19, page 3) was the ideological cross-over of a number of the states: Connecticut and Massachusetts, normally liberal in senior party affairs, fought for a more conservative platform, while most Alabama,

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Mississippi and Arizona delegates lined up behind the more liberal document that was approved.

Arizona's actions were particularly astonishing. The home state of YR national co-chairman Dottie Fancher, Arizona, was prominently represented in the National YR leadership which insisted on keeping some of the New Left verbiage in the platform. (Arizona delegates also opposed a separate resolution—not to be confused with the platform—denouncing the grape boycott of Cesar Chavez.)

Mrs. Fancher, herself, specifically turned thumbs down on efforts to remove language which spoke of "economic oppression" in American society and curtly defended the written platform to a *Human Events* reporter.

Hayden's United Front

A nationwide conference of black militants and white radicals opened last week in Oakland, designed to forge a "United Front Against Fascism." Several thousand New and Old Leftists from every part of the country were expected on hand to cement the new alliance.

The United Front is the brainchild of Bobby Seale, Panther national chairman, and Tom Hayden, the bearded young revolutionary who founded SDS. Hayden, who has served as a professional agitator in Newark, Chicago and other cities, has now moved to the Bay Area and is devoting all his time to the formation of this new group.

Security officials report that Hayden and Seale have received pledges of cooperation from leaders of more than a dozen subversive groups. Expected to participate in the Berkeley conference were representatives of the Communist Party U.S.A., the party-spawned W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, the ultra-militant Revolutionary Union,the Black Student Unions, the Socialist Workers party and other Trotskyite splinter groups.

Hayden frankly admits that his United Front is patterned after the earlier coalition ordered by the Kremlin in the 1930s and security officials view the new development with alarm. "If Hayden and Seale can successfully merge the white radicals and militant blacks, the New Left's revolutionary potential will be increased greatly," declares one report.

Nixon's Surtax Victory

President Nixon won a major legislative victory last week when the Senate Finance Committee approved the Administration's tax surcharge extension proposal in its House-passed form without amendment. The surprise move, engineered by committee Republicans, was a severe jolt to the Senate Democratic leadership of Mike Mansfield and Ted Kennedy, who have been insisting that a tax reform package accompany the surcharge proposal.

Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long (D.-La.) had been attempting to reconcile the reform and surcharge forces by hearing extensive testimony on both matters. But last Thursday Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking Republican on the committee, abruptly offered a motion to vote the House measure onto the Senate floor without reform
The approving vote was a narrow 9-to-8 tally, with two Democrats—Abe Ribicoff (Conn.) and Clinton Anderson (N.M.)—joining their GOP colleagues on the winning side.

The House version of the surcharge embodies the Administration's proposal, extending the 10 per cent added tax through December 31, then continuing it at 5 per cent until June 30, 1970. The bill would also repeal the 7 per cent investment tax credit and remove some 2.1 million poverty-level families from the tax rolls.

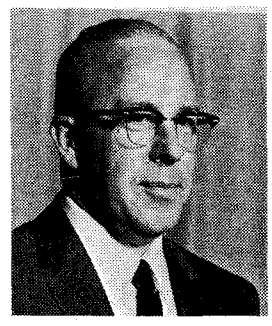
Senate liberals have by no means given up their fight, and are expected to offer a bevy of tax reform proposals when the surcharge comes up for floor debate.

The White House has also gone on record as favoring sweeping reform of the tax structure, but has said this should come in separate legislation, not tied to the surcharge which is needed immediately, it says, to fight inflation.

The next showdown for President Nixon will come when GOP Senators attempt to have the surcharge matter taken up for debate before the ABM issue. Democratic leaders Mansfield and Kennedy, both ABM opponents, have vowed that the missile vote will come first.

The Philadelphia Plan

President Nixon's Secretary of Labor, George P. Schultz, is coming under strong attack from Senate Republicans for going ahead with an experimental equal employment program without throughly checking its legality. The Schultz plan was instituted last week in Philadelphia and will be applied to other major cities if it proves successful there.



SCHULTZ

Under the "Philadelphia Plan," contractors bidding on federal construction jobs must agree to employ a certain number of minority workers—or, propose "specific goals of minority manpower utilization"—before they can obtain the contract. The stipulation applies to the job areas of ironworkers, plumbers, pipefitters, steamfitters, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, roofers, waterproofers and elevator construction workers, areas from which Negroes have been traditionally excluded by powerful craft unions.

Secretary Schultz' critics do not dispute the aim of his plan, but do question its legality in light of the 1964 Civil Rights Act's provision expressly outlawing employers from setting quotas based on race, religion, etc. Citing this legal question, Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) has asked Schultz to hold up on the "Philadelphia Plan" until August 1, by which time the Controller General's office will have been able to examine its legality.

The Labor Department's only rebuttal to this criticism so far has been to say the new plan's power does not come from the Civil Rights Act, but from an Executive Order requiring equal employment clauses in all federal contracts.

If the department goes ahead with it, Fannin and Sen. Everett Dirksen have promised to proceed with legislation to place the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance under the independent Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Secretary Schultz has already modified his plan once in response to Senate GOP criticism. After it had first been proposed, he inserted a clause saying the federal contractor would not be held to the minority employment figure in his construction bid if he could show he had made a "good faith" effort to hire the stipulated number of workers and could not do so. (See story on page 13.)

Justice Presses Baker

Justice Department sources say that additional legal action is contemplated against Bobby Baker, the wheeling-dealing protege of Lyndon Johnson who was hit last week with a major civil suit.

BAKER

In a suit filed in U.S. District Court in Washington, the government charged Baker with serious conflict-of-interest violations and announced it was seeking recovery of "at least part" of the small fortune the one-time boy wonder amassed while on the federal payroll.

Baker, who is currently appealing convictions on charges of tax evasion, fraud and conspiracy, will be forced to give a full accounting of his $1.7 million net worth, if Justice gets its way.

In its suit, the government charged that while serving as Secretary of the Senate Majority, Baker entered illegal agreements, expressed or implied, "to serve the interests of various private parties having matters pending . . . before the U.S. government."

Cited in the suit were payments to Baker of $7,500 from the U.S. Freight Co., of New York, $20,000 from the Haitian American Metal Co., $5,000 from the Capitol Vending Co. and $2,500 from the Redwood National Bank. The suit indicated that there were other transactions involving Baker.

The suit asked recovery of all "fees, cpmmissions, profits and emoluments from private parties" on the grounds they "were in conflict with an derogation of [Baker's] duty of loyalty and trust as an agent and officials of the United States."

Carolinian to the Court?

Reports emanating from Republican sources on Capitol Hill say the man President Nixon currently favors to fill the existing vacancy on the Supreme Court is Court of Appeals Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, a native of South Carolina. These reports stress that Nixon has not made a final decision and will not do so until he returns from his around-the-world tour in early August.

Judge Haynsworth was named to his court post by President Eisenhower in 1957 and has since established a solid moderate conservative record on such issues as economics, taxes and tampering with the school system. Friends describe Haynsworth as a "Jimmy Byrnes Democrat," in reference to the former South Carolina Democratic governor and Supreme Court justice who regularly supported Republican candidates in national elections.

One of Haynsworth's chief competitors for the vacant Court post is former governor and senator Donald S. Russell, now a U.S. District Court judge. Russell supported Democrat Hubert Humphrey in last year's presidential race and is seven years older than the 56-year-old Haynsworth.

The court seat in contention was vacated last May by Associate Justice Abe Fortas, following criticism of his out-of-court activities. It will be President Nixon's second court appointment, his selection of Judge Warren Burger as Chief Justice being the first.

Goldwater vs. Ginzburg

The U.S. Court of Appeals of New York City last week unanimously upheld Sen. Barry Goldwater's libel suit against convicted pornographer Ralph Ginzburg and his now defunct *Fact* magazine. The appellate court maintained that Ginzburg had shown malice when he published a *Fact* magazine article in 1964 characterizing Goldwater as paranoid, hot-tempered, suspicious and psychologically unfit to be President. The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York had earlier awarded Goldwater $75,000 in damages.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of **"Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?"**, the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of **Human Events.** Single copies 35¢; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

Also available because of popular demand, is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant. . .Then Too Cowardly".** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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Nixon's Rumanian Gamble with Fate

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The reaction to President Nixon's proposed stop in Rumania proves one thing: Nobody, but nobody is really privy to what goes on in the Soviet mind.

You can get any number of opinions in Washington about the wisdom of visiting Rumania. The be-nice-to-Russia crowd thinks it terrible that Mr. Nixon should do a thing which might give Moscow an excuse to postpone talks on arms limitation. Sen. Mike Mansfield suggests that a potentially bad situation might be retrieved if only the President would drop in at the Kremlin for a nice little talk with First Secretary Brezhnev and Premier Kosygin before or after going to Bucharest.

Some of Nixon's rightist critics happen to agree with the detente-minded Left that the Rumanian junket could be an invitation to disaster. But, where the Left is worried lest the chances for an accommodation with the Kremlin on armaments or peace in Viet Nam might be spoiled by the Bucharest visit, the Right fears that the Soviets will react to the temerity of their Rumanian satellite by sending in the tanks.

This, of course, would put the Russians next door to Yugoslavia, a country which lives in fear that the "Brezhnev doctrine" was specifically evolved to deal with President Tito, who happens to have been the first to proclaim the "heresy" that every country should be free to find its own way to socialism.

Many people in the middle, of course, think that Nixon is doing well to show his sympathy for an eastern European country which has ambitions to run its own affairs. They think that the President has pulled a fast one on the Kremlin strategists who, to their way of thinking, can hardly be anxious to repeat what happened in Czechoslovakia last August.

They argue that if the Soviets were to invade Rumania, the reaction of the Communist parties in the West, particularly in Italy and France, would be disastrous to the Kremlin's hopes and plans for retrieving Communist unity.

Thus the confidence of the people in the middle that the Soviets will refrain from any drastic response to Nixon's projected Rumanian interlude.

I wouldn't pretend to any special insight into what the Kremlin may or may not do as a result of the Nixon trip. But I am reasonably sure that if all hell breaks loose either before, during or after Nixon's appearance in Bucharest, it will be because the Russians were planning to make a move anyway.

Just as the then Premier Khrushchev used the incident of the downed U-2 spy plane as an excuse to carry through with a surely predetermined decision to disrupt plans for meeting with President Eisenhower, so Brezhnev and Kosygin would be making Nixon the goat for a crackdown on Rumania and a subsequent invasion of Yugoslavia. In other words, it doesn't make much difference whether Nixon does or does not go to Bucharest: Like T.S. Eliot's Rum Tum Tugger, the recalcitrant cat, the Kremlin will "do what it do do, and nothing can be done about it."

If Brezhnev and his colleagues happen to be planning some devilment to bring the blessings of the "Brezhnev doctrine" to hapless Rumania, the coincidence of Nixon's stopover in Bucharest will, of course, provide the Kremlin cynics with a marvelous opportunity for a propaganda strike. The detente-minded liberals in the West will never believe that the Communists make their own moves in response to their own presumed needs, not as a reaction to mere diplomatic provocation or to personal pique.

One can imagine in advance the liberals' horrified outcries about Nixon's "blunders"; it would be the story of the post-U-2 criticism of Eisenhower all over again.

This is a calculated risk which President Nixon has apparently decided is worth the taking. If he gets away with it with nothing more than a tit-for-tat visit of Russian warships to Fidel Castro's Cuba, he will look like a farsighted diplomat. If, on the other hand, the Soviets proceed to impose their will on Rumania and move troops up to the Yugoslav border, Nixon will be blackened domestically by his dove critics, even though the Russians had been planning the crackdown all along.

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Dellinger: Our Man in Paris

By ALICE WIDENER

No fiction account of foreign intrigue is more fantastic than the non-fiction story of David Dellinger, Our Man in Paris, who negotiated on behalf of the United States with the North Vietnamese for their promised release this month of three American GI prisoners of war.

Who is Dellinger? Does anyone know the truth about him? He says he is a "non-Soviet" Communist. Is he pro-Peking or what? He says he is a non-violent pacifist, but he is scheduled to go on trial in Chicago this September on charges by a federal grand jury that he "did travel in interstate commerce from outside the State of Illinois to Chicago. . .with intent to incite, organize promote and encourage a riot (during the Democratic National Convention last August) in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2101." In other words, Dellinger is charged by the U.S. government with having violated the "anti-riot" legislation enacted by Congress partly as a result of the violence that took place when Dellinger and other radicals led a march on the Pentagon.

Since when is a citizen indicted for violating our federal law considered to be a fit representative of the United States? In a strong protest against Our Man in Paris, Richard Homan, Veterans of Foreign Wars National Commander-in-Chief, said in Washington, July 11, "In the United States, we elect people to represent us in government. We elect leaders to perform those functions and duties for which they are elected and to accept those responsibilities which have been placed in their trust. Communist governments do not act in accordance with such democratic processes. North Viet Nam's Communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, seems determined to force our elected leaders to break faith with the established democratic processes when and as it pleases Ho Chi Minh."

How did Ho obtain Dellinger's services?

After a little scoutin' around, I've managed to untangle part of the web of this true-life foreign affairs intrigue. Reliable sources say Ho first got in touch with Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society notoriety. Hayden is too young to have highly placed friends in the State Department, but he knew that Dellinger has quite a few.

So Dellinger's lawyer asked the U.S. Attorney in Chicago to permit Dellinger to leave the country. The U.S. Attorney got in touch with Washington, D.C. where, it is said, a high official of the State Department described David Dellinger merely as "a pacifist." That pitted the State Department's opinion in direct conflict with the verdict of a federal grand jury in Chicago. At stake in the hostages-blackmail Red game were the lives of three GI's and so the Justice Department reluctantly went along with State.

But the plot thickens.

On Capitol Hill, some people say Dellinger's friends in State are among the holdovers from the division of Security and Consular Affairs where one Abba Schwarz held sway until he tried to oust Frances Knight as head of the Passport Division because she made it tough for conspirators and suspected espionage agents to flit around from the U.S. to Cuba to North Viet Nam, etc. Fortunately for us plain folk, Frances won and Abba lost. Like him, his holdover friends in State are true believers in being very, very friendly with Soviets, Red Chinese, etc.

The plot thickens still more. There are strong rumors on Capitol Hill that Dellinger, a self-proclaimed Communist, has very close friends in more places than Foggy Bottom and is deeply involved with the propaganda operations of more than one Red foreign government.

Two things are clear: Ho Chi Minh is following standard Red operating procedure in dealing with citizens of a non-Socialist country over the heads of government officials and thus humiliating the latter; and Hanoi wants to make a mockery of our new anti-riot laws by enabling Dellinger to pose as a savior of American GI's when he goes on trial as an alleged conspirator in Chicago.

When news was flashed round the world that Our Man in Paris had conferred with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, there must have been loud rejoicing in Hanoi where forcing an enemy to lose face is deemed a far greater victory than winning a military battle.

This is the first time the United States allowed itself to be represented abroad by a citizen indicted for breaking the federal law. During this hostages' affair, Teddy Roosevelt's bones must be rattlin' and rattlin' in his grave.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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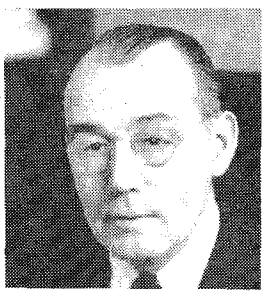

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Myths About 'Compensatory Education'

The Alchemists in Our Public Schools

By ROGER A. FREEMAN

"Learned men have pursued this science for so long that they would already have succeeded a thousand times if it had been at all possible in any way to gain the desired end."—Geber, Summa Perfections. *(Jabir Ibn Haiyan, Al Tarasusi?)*

For nearly two thousand years some of the most brilliant and erudite minds of their time devoted untiring efforts and their wealthy sponsors' money to a task which, as we have since learned, is not within man's power: to convert common metals into gold by removing their impurities. For many generations the alchemists were able to fool rich and poor, wise and stupid, rulers and servants, but above all themselves. Many or most of them were not, as often is assumed, fakers who were out to fill their pockets from the purses of ambitious princes and greedy merchants, though some undoubtedly were. With some exceptions they believed in what they were trying to do and spent their lives and fortunes in the search for a goal beyond their reach.

Though they never produced an ounce of gold, they continued to attract support and carried on for centuries, each unwavering in his faith that he would succeed where all others had failed.

Why did the alchemists—who were scholars—and their backers—who were men of affairs—remain impervious for so long to ample evidence of the futility of their search? Their stubborn refusal to draw from their defeats the lesson that there is no shortcut to Eldorado suggests a deep emotional need to believe that there is. So they persuaded themselves, and others, that what *ought to be* possible, *was* in fact possible.

A modern parallel to that triumph of emotion over reason has appeared on the scene in recent years: A large number of knowledgeable and dedicated men and women assert, insist and try to prove that there is a shortcut by which poverty can be wiped out quickly and painlessly—without the price of blood and sweat and tears that the nations paid which have since become the world's wealthiest—and that this can be done (*a*) in the countries which we now euphemistically if inaccurately call *developing*; (*b*) for Americans with an income that is low relative to the rest of the U.S. population, whom we call *deprived, underprivileged,* or simply *poor*.

That new elixir of life, a contemporary counterpart of the philosophers' stone, our latter-day alchemists believe to be education.

Education has made spectacular progress over the past quarter-century in most countries, rich and poor, and this is of course an indispensable requirement for social and economic advances. But the income and production gap between the industrial and the backward countries keeps widening through the 1960s, which the United Nations had hopefully if prematurely christened the "Development Decade."

Likewise, the tremendous effort of the American people to raise the academic achievements of the children of the poor who are lagging a year or more in essential skills has failed to achieve its primary aim.

More than 20,000 programs and projects in communities from coast to coast, initially sponsored by foundations and state and local governments, for the past four years bankrolled by the U.S. Treasury, now reach over nine million school children annually. So far they have not been able to narrow significantly the educational "gap." After endeavors and experiments launched on a small scale about a decade ago, children from low-income backgrounds who typically lag several months behind when they enter first grade, tend to be several years behind national norms in the upper grades and when they leave school, with a diploma or without.

'War on Poverty'

Though the movement for *compensatory education*—so called because it aims to compensate children for initial disadvantages—was begun in the late 1950s, it did not become a big-time enterprise until President Johnson declared an "unconditional war on poverty" in his first State of the Union message five years ago.

That the time had come to wipe the remaining pockets of poverty off the map of the United States was an immensely appealing proposition which found an immediate and enthusiastic response from most of the public and from Congress. Popular though the idea was of a 'War on Poverty," nearly all its individual fronts and lines of attack—from Community Action Programs and Job Corps to subsidized housing and new forms of public welfare—became soon embroiled in intense and often bitter controversies. I said "*nearly* all fronts" because one escaped the crossfire and has been hailed by liberals and conservatives alike as the true solution to the problem: education.

At the time of Sputnik, public interest dwelt largely on more intensive training of gifted children, as the nation's future leaders in science, management and the professions. But over the past 10 years emphasis shifted gradually to the most glaring gap in American education: learning defects of the children of the poor. After small-scale beginnings, Congress in April 1965 enacted an administration bill which in its Title I aimed mainly to raise to higher levels the essential skills and knowledge of disadvantaged children.

Between 16,000 and 18,000 school districts—three of every four school units in the country—participate each year in Title I funds of $1.2 billion, with projects covering every imaginable aspect of education: preschool, intensified instruction in the language arts, arithmetic and science, improved guidance, counseling and tutoring, cultural enrichment, food and health services, physical fitness, vocational education, drop-out prevention, college preparation, integration, teacher training, parent participation, remedial instruction, motivational influence, use of new material, audio-visual and other techniques and hundreds of others. More than 350,000 new full-time and part-time positions were created in the schools, mostly for teachers, supported by teachers' aides, librarians, supervisors, counselors, psychologists, nurses and many other professional and semi-professional workers.

In the spring of 1968 the Associated Press conducted a nationwide survey of the accomplishments of the 1965 Education Act. It reported:

> Title I, the federal project on which $3 billion has been spent in the hope of answering the educational needs of deprived children, is not working out. On this point, critics and supporters alike are agreed. Some critics call the two-year-old project a total flop, and others claim it has actually worked against poor children. . . .

The Associated Press quoted Rep. Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.), chairman of the House General Subcommittee on Education and one of the bill's original sponsors: "It is a monumental flop, and the outbreak of recent riots speaks louder than anything I can say about the total collapse of the program."

Assistant U.S. Commissioner of Education Joseph Froomkin commented, "We still have little evidence that the problem is being licked; in fact, we may even be falling behind." Alice M. Rivlin, assistant secretary of evaluation and planning of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, admitted: "I think we have found the task is much tougher than we thought at the start. . . . When it began, we really didn't know how to go about it. We still don't, really, but we are trying to find out."

Later in 1968 Miss Rivlin summarized for a congressional group an official evaluation report that was still kept under wraps: "Federal funds so far have failed to stop the downward spiral of poor children's achievements." (*Congressional Record,* Sept. 26, 1968, p. E 8220)

Some may wonder at this point why educators did not test the programs on a small scale before demanding—and spending—billions of public funds on them. The fact is that compensatory education *was* tested for six or seven years.

But negative results no more caused program enthusiasts to have second thoughts about the feasibility of their goal or the effectiveness of their methods than repeated failures were able to deter the earlier alchemists from stubbornly pursuing their objective of turning common metal into gold.

Our latter-day alchemists' reaction was typified by the solution Assistant Education Commissioner Froomkin suggested in the mentioned Associated Press survey: "I think we probably would need $5 billion a year to do the job adequately." But supposing we find a few years hence that $5 billion did not do the job either. Shall we try for $20 billion or for $40 billion? Or should we *now* stop, look and listen? Should we now try to find out whether we are possibly barking up the wrong tree; whether, like the alchemists of yore, we are trying to do what cannot be done?

To gain a proper perspective, let us review the record of compensatory education from its inception.

It all began in New York City in December 1956 when the Board of Education launched what the New York *Times* called "the most exciting educational experiment of recent years." At a Harlem junior high school (#43) the pupils with the greatest academic potential were given intensified counseling and instruction and other special services. The group's achievements in reading and other subjects improved substantially in the succeeding years.

Of the 717 pupils originally selected, 379 were later placed in special classes at an academic high school (George Washington); 240 of them were ultimately graduated. Their progress so encouraged the Board of Education that, in an amazing non sequitur, it decided to establish a similar large-scale program, "Higher Horizons," comprising *all* children in a number of schools in low-income or slum neighborhoods.

"Higher Horizons" (HH), "The most extensive project ever undertaken in the area of education for disadvantaged children" was started in the fall of 1959, on the apparent assumption that what worked for a group of selected able pupils would work equally well for *all* children. By 1962 "HH" included 76 schools with over 64,000 students. Half of them scored below their grade level by more than two years; 88 per cent were Negro or Puerto Rican.

The program's goals were defined by its coordinator in 1963:

> It is not enough for us to raise the self-image, or to broaden cultural horizons, or to improve the school climate, or to make teachers happier. If within a reasonable period of time, the level of academic functioning has not been raised, then our efforts must be adjudged largely a failure.[1]

So they were. When glowing stories of great learning advances seemed to conflict with other evidence, the Board of Education in 1964 ordered a factual evaluation of "HH" by its own research division. With great reluctance, yielding to heavy pressure, it made the report public in 1965.

The investigators found little or no difference between the reading and arithmetic scores of pupils from comparable backgrounds who had attended "HH" schools and those who had not. Academic progress of the two groups was almost identical: both had gained about two years according to national norms—in three school years. Nor had "HH" improved social, school and personal attitudes of the children, their classroom behavior, study habits, educational goals or truancy rates.

That devastating evaluation serves as an ironic comment on a eulogy by the program's coordinator two years earlier, that "HH" "provided a rallying point in the fight for our disadvantaged children, and a peg upon which all—supervisors, teachers, parents and pupils—might hang their hopes." The evaluation report left the Board of Education with no alternative but to discontinue "HH" forthwith.

The life cycle of "HH" was repeated in city after city: acclaimed with fanfare when the project was launched, soon extolled for its accomplishments which proved once and for all that compensatory education offered the urban slum children salvation, unceremoniously dropped or slowly phased out when the failure could no longer be concealed.

Waste of money was the least of the damage wrought. Far worse was the impact on the community. Slum children and their parents, faced with a multitude of problems to begin with, diffident, insecure, defeatist, cynical, often despondent, had their hopes lifted sky high by sincerely meant but irredeemable promises of political, school and civic leaders, only to be left to despair when the blow fell and the inevitable disappointment came. Small wonder that resentment turned into antagonism which often led to belligerency and finally exploded into violence. People

[1] Jacob Landers, "Higher Horizons, Progress Report," New York City Board of Education, January 1963, p.9.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

From 1962 until earlier this month, Roger Freeman was a senior staff member at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. Born in Vienna, Austria, he received his degree from the Vienna School of Business Administration in 1927 and an honorary LL. D. from Brigham Young University in 1966. Among his many activities in the field of public affairs, he has served as a special assistant to the governor of Washington (1950-55), an assistant in the White House (1955-56) and a Research Advisor, Education Committee, U.S. Commission of Intergovernmental Relations (1954-55). In addition to his many articles in magazines and scholarly journals, Mr. Freeman is also the author of a number of books, including **Federal Aid to Education: Boon or Bane?**, **School Needs in the Decade Ahead** and **Crisis in College Finance?** On July 9 he was appointed a Special Assistant to President Nixon. In this post Mr. Freeman will work with Dr. Arthur Burns in the development of the Administration's domestic programs and policies. This article was written prior to his White House appointment.

FREEMAN

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can and will endure poverty and deprivation for a long time. But to have their hopes raised and then cruelly squashed is apt to turn even the meek into revolutionaries.

A quick look at the relevant experience of a few other cities may supplement the record of "HH" in New York. One of the nation's largest compensatory education programs is the Banneker project in St. Louis. Begun in 1957-58 by an energetic and dedicated educator, Samuel Shepard, it aimed, like other progams, at improving the essential skills of disadvantaged children.

At the outset, eighth-grade Banneker students were lagging about one year in reading; by 1960-61 the lag was reported to have been cut to half a year, and a sharp-eyed observer commented: "A forceful educator, Shepard performs his 'miracles' on the most underprivileged school children in the city . . . the results of the Banneker effort speak for themselves." Maybe they did, for a while. But then they stopped talking.

A few years later, the same observer—Thomas F. Pettigrew, professor of social psychology at Harvard and chief consultant to the Civil Rights Commission's Race and Education Study—had his name on a less encouraging report:

> A comparison of eighth-grade reading test scores in subsequent school years, however, shows that this gain apparently was not sustained. In 1965-66, eighth-grade students, some of whom had been in the program for seven years, were tested. The majority of Banneker schools were then a year or more below the national average.

In 1965-66 Banneker students were about as far behind as children from similar backgrounds in other schools. This parallels Philadelphia's experience with its Education Improvement Program (EIP) in 1963-66.

During the early 1960s "Higher Horizons" was widely praised as a shining example and was copied in many cities. It also served as the pattern on which the Department of Health, Education and Welfare shaped Title I of its 1965 education proposals which were signed into law just a few weeks before the release of the new evaluation report disclosed "HH" to have been an abject failure.

Before the final curtain fell on "HH," the New York City Board of Education, in October 1963, launched another compensatory program, "More Effective Schools" (MES). Less extensive than "HH," with only 21 elementary schools and 18,000 students—82 per cent of them Negro or Puerto Rican—it concentrated resources more sharply. The pupil-teacher ratio was cut in half between 1963 and 1966—from 1:25.0 to 1:12.3—in the MES schools, while it declined only from 1:26.9 in the city's elementary schools generally.

Instructional costs in the ME schools averaged $914 per pupil in 1966-67, almost twice as much as in the nine "control" schools ($485) in similar neighborhoods. Total current per pupil outlays in MES schools were estimated in $1,263.

Some educational organizations had long regarded per pupil expenditures as the most accurate yardstick of educational quality. They lost little time in claiming MES a rousing success.

MES Failure

Speaking in the Senate on Dec. 15, 1967, Sen. Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) declared that "we now have clear evidence that intensive education, on a truly massive scale, can overcome many of the environmental barriers that place ghetto youngesters on an unequal education footing. The 'More Effective Schools' program of New York City is now being recognized as a remarkable example of what can be done in slum schools—with small classes, special instruction services and striking teaching techniques—what can be done, in short, if the educational expenditures for ghetto schools are geared to the disproportionate needs of disadvantaged children."

When the Civil Rights Commission in its negative evaluation of compensatory education did not mention MES, Joseph Alsop asked why it was omitted. He continued:

> Perhaps the answer is that in the MES, all children have shown a very great average improvement, and those children who have begun in prekindergarten and continued on from there are actually performing, on the average, *at grade level or above*.[2]

The New York City Board of Education decided to play it safe and have MES evaluated by outside experts rather than its own staff. It commissioned the Center for Urban Education, a New York research organization, federally financed under Title IV, to conduct a study which was carried out by a team of 38 educators and social scientists, mostly from New York colleges and universities, headed by David J. Fox of CCNY. The carefully documented report in the fall of 1967 sent shock waves through the school system which have not yet stopped reverberating.

New York AFT head Albert Shanker has admitted that compensatory education is not the full answer.

The investigators found "an atmosphere and climate characterized by enthusiasm, interest and hope and a belief among all levels of staff that they were in a setting in which they could function. Moreover, parents and community, too, have responded with interest and enthusiasm. . . ." Then the report continued:

"Equally clear are the data which indicate that the MES program has made no significant difference in the functioning of children, whether this was measured by observers rating what the children did in class, and how they do it, or whether it was measured by the children's ability in mathematics or reading on standardized tests.

"The data of this evaluation show that children in classes in ME schools were not behaving differently than children in classes in the officially designated control schools or in classes in other special service schools. The achievement test data showed that the profiles of ME schools were no different than the profiles of these same schools before the program was instituted."

New York's teachers' union, which has many jobs at stake in the program, was quite unhappy with the report and sought to discredit it. But even the union's head, Albert Shanker, had to admit early in 1969: "Compensatory programs throughout the country, as they have been evaluated, show consistently poor results."[3]

The most recent experience was reported on the front page of the San Francisco *Examiner & Chronicle* on Jan. 12, 1969:

> San Francisco schools' special $3.2-million programs are failing utterly to bring deprived children up to national averages in reading. Instead, most children in the federally financed Title I programs are falling farther and farther behind each year. The failure was disclosed in test scores received more than a month ago by the San Francisco Unified School District but not yet officially released. . . .

When it enacted the program, Congress ordered the U.S. Office of Education to submit annual reports on the results of Title I. The first report, in 1967, cited numerous laudatory comments of state and local school officials. It also contained a statistical table, probably overlooked by most readers, giving the results of "before and after" tests in 19 skills ranging from reading comprehension to arithmetic reasoning.

'No Improvement'

On 10 of those tests, the educational lag had, on the average, been slightly reduced; on the other nine it had increased. Over all, the measurable progress was negligible.

The second annual report on Title I, released in 1968, was no more encouraging. It contained no comprehensive achievement test data and the sporadic information it provided added up to the fact that the educational lag of the participating children had remained unchanged.

The Headstart program aims to help preschool children from poor families to overcome their environmental handicaps so that they may equal middle-class children when they enter first grade. Over 600,000 children participate annually in Headstart at a cost of over $300 million.

Headstart helped many children to improve their performance and to score gains of eight to 10 points on verbal I.Q. tests. But those gains proved to be ephemeral and vanished in a few months. Within less than a year no measurable difference remained between children who had gone through Headstart and children from comparable backgrounds who had not.

Why? Most people's performance can be temporarily raised by intensive training such as, for example, cramming for an examination. But the effect wears off in time as the individual reverts to true form. That may well be the most likely explanation of the evanescent nature of Hardstart gains.

The overall picture of effort to raise the performance level of disadvantaged children was summed up by David K. Cohen of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard-MIT at the Conference on Equal Education in Washington, Nov. 16-18, 1967: compensatory programs in urban schools "have resulted in no substantial improvement in students' academic competence."

In view of the tremendous diversity among about 60,000 Title I projects which were largely developed by local imagination and initiative, it appears unlikely that an essential element, ingredient or possibility had been overlooked. There could not be a feature or factor which the majority of students—who perform satisfactorily—absorbed, but which children from low-income families do not get under present arrangements.

Thus, to search for new types of courses or techniques does not seem to be promising. There must be something fundamentally wrong with compensatory education that makes it ineffective, something that is not under the control of the school.

When compensatory education failed to deliver what its sponsors had promised, scholars began to search for other ways to achieve the desired ends. One group of researchers, led by psychologist David Krech of the University of California at Berkeley, has been experimenting with central nervous system stimulants such as strychnine, picrotoxine and metrazol and found that they could thereby appreciably improve the learning performance of goldfish and rodents.

They have not yet created a super mouse, nor tried their art on human beings. Nor do they promise that a pharmacopoeia of drugs will soon make most educators unemployed. But the hope has been expressed that the *chemistry of learning* might some day succeed where more mundane methods have failed. Of all the imaginative appraisals to the improvement of education that have been made or suggested, the use of chemicals on the brain may be the closest parallel yet to the ancient quest of the alchemists.

After reviewing hundreds of projects and research studies, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded in 1967 that the education of Negro children could not be adequately improved without effective racial integration of the schools. Tests showed that integrated schools score higher than all-black schools. Moreover, Negro children in partly or largely white schools score slightly better than Negro children in predominantly or all-black schools. Whether this fact is significant and suggests a causal relationship, or whether it merely means that the children of middle-class Negro families are more likely to attend integrated schools, has been argued indecisively within and without the research staff of the Civil Rights Commission.

Longitudinal studies on black children who transferred to white schools have been inconclusive. The most extensive review "of evidence regarding the effects of educational desegregation on the scholastic achievements of Negroes" was undertaken by Irwin Katz, professor of psychology and director of the Research Center for Human Relations at New York University ("The Effects of Desegregation on the Performance of Negroes" in: *School Children in the Urban Slum*, Joan Roberts, ed., New York, The Free Press, 1967). His final conclusion: "Reports on the academic progress of Negro children in desegregated schools are on the whole inadequate for drawing any conclusions about the effects of biracial environments upon Negro performance."

Whether or not racial mixing in the schools raises the learning level of Negro children is the subject of an intense and continuing debate. But it is not the question on which a national decision on school integration depends or will be made. Though large sections of the public demand de facto integration as a matter of moral right and sound public policy, little was done when the U.S. Civil Rights Commission two years ago recommended that the national government make the establishment of racial balance in the public schools throughout the country its first order of business in education. Nor is the outlook for such action bright.

Most opponents do not question that integration is desirable or necessary and has to come, but they would accord higher priority to other school improvements. They point at the record of the past 15 years and contend that integration is not a realistic prospect for a long time. Despite determined efforts toward a better racial balance, more Negro children now attend school in predominantly or all-black classes than in 1954.

Ghetto Problems.

To defer educational reform until *after* full integration has been achieved could mean that the present school generation will see no improvements. The example of the District of Columbia schools is being cited where integration seems to have backfired: they had a white majority when they were integrated in 1954 and are now 94 per cent black. How do you provide racial balance in a school system that is 94 per cent black? Parallel trends in other big cities bear ominous connotations for the future. That is why many have regretfully concluded, as Joseph Alsop expressed it, that "the problem of the ghetto school must be mainly solved *inside the ghetto school*, at any rate for a long time to come."

Racial integration and compensatory education may have various beneficial effects on children. That higher academic achievement does not seem to be among them has been a source of disappointment and extreme frustration to the programs' protagonists.

What makes the issue so emotion-charged and politically sensitive is a fact that is well known but can be interpreted in several ways: a much higher percentage of black than of white children lags substantially in the "3 R's." The average Negro child may be three to six months behind in the first grade, three or more years in the twelfth grade.

To prove once and for all that such differences are largely the result of inferior schools attended by Negro children, the

[2] No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education," *The New Republic*, July 22, 1967.

[3] Albert Shanker, "What's Wrong with Compensatory Education?" *Saturday Review*, Jan. 11, 1969.

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U.S. Office of Education sponsored in 1965-66 the most extensive study of the subject ever undertaken. Headed by James S. Coleman of John Hopkins University, it covered 4,000 schools with 600,000 children in grades 1 through 12. Some observers thought it a waste of money to spend $1.25 million to prove what had long been common knowledge.

New York Example

But to almost everybody's surprise the 737-page Coleman report showed that the differences in the physical and economic resources of schools attended by Negro children and by white children are *not* significant; the average number of pupils per teacher, teachers' qualifications in terms of the highest degree earned or years of experience, teachers' salaries, tenure or the age of the school building and other measurable input factors provide no explanation for the difference in output; that is, in pupil performance.

Nowhere is the absence of a positive cost-quality relationship more clearly evident than in New York.

The latest year for which inter-city comparisons are available is 1966-67. In that year New York expended not only more per pupil than any other large city, it spent about twice as much ($1,028 vs. $557) as the average city in its size class (enrollment of 100,000 pupils or more).

No comparisons can be made of academic achievement between New York and other cities because most school systems treat such information as state secrets.[4] New York, to its credit, publishes test results and they can be held against national norms.

City-wide tests in 1967 and 1968 show few changes and disclose that 57 per cent of New York's public school children score lower in reading than they should, according to national norms. One New York pupil in three lagged one year or more behind, one in five lagged two years or more.

Questioned by the New York *Times* (Nov. 21, 1967), city school superintendent Bernard E. Donovan admitted that the scores were "the worst ever," adding, "But a headline of that nature would set back our efforts and undermine what we are trying to accomplish."

To expect that findings such as these would tend to shake our latter-day alchemists' faith in the miraculous power of the dollar to raise educational achievements would be asking for the impossible. A review of reports, requests and recommendations reveal one common note in almost all of them: if the performance of some school children is deficient, the blame should be placed squarely on those who did not supply sufficient funds. "There is nothing wrong with the schools that a lot more money would not cure." If appropriations were boosted by 20 per cent, or 50 per cent, or 100 per cent, we are told all children would in due time be mastering the "3 R's" satisfactorily.

No myth is more firmly implanted, nor has persisted longer, than the claim that class size—or the teacher-pupil ratio—is the most potent factor in determining the learning opportunity of children. With all their variety of methods, nearly all compensatory education projects, and most integration plans, emphasize a reduced teacher-pupil ratio more strongly than any other feature, as a guarantee of improved education. But as I demonstrated earlier, better performance resulting from such improvements has been conspicuous by its absence.

That should come as no surprise. The *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (1950 ed.) summarized over 200 research studies of class size and pupil achievement: "On the whole, the statistical findings definitely favor large classes at every level of instruction except the kindergarten . . . the general trend of evidence places the burden of proof squarely upon the proponents of small classes." More recently, the Coleman report found that the teacher-pupil ratio "showed a consistent lack of relation to achievements among all groups under all conditions."

When none of the traditional approaches produced returns that were at all commensurate with the investment, some of their former supporters became disillusioned. In a booklet, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," distributed by the Ford Foundation, Mario D. Fantini—who headed a Ford Foundation-sponsored compensatory education project in Syracuse in the early 1960s—admitted the failure of the old methods and suggested trying something else:

> Since the compensatory approach has apparently failed, since desegregation is not a realistic short-range prospect . . . the latest—and in my view most promising—approach to intervention is the reform of the total school systems, structurally and otherwise.

The structural reform which Mr. Fantini emphasized was a decentralization of the school system.

The rationale for community control was this: large numbers of pupils are falling behind in their learning because the schools are not giving them the education they need. Several things may be wrong with the schools—curriculum, methods, materials, teacher competence or attitude. The parents know and have been told right along that their children *can* learn. If they don't learn, those who govern their education must be at fault—teachers, supervisors and the Board of Education. Why not give the parents authority to correct the shortcomings? They know best what their children need and can observe them daily. With their children's interest at heart they would see to it that the schools educate them properly.

There appears to be little indication that random mixing of gifted and dull children helps either.

It did seem slightly ironic that the neighborhood principle was now being espoused by the same groups which, only a short time earlier, had attacked it as a cloak for continued segregation. The Board of Education, under heavy pressure from top state and city officials, yielded reluctantly and established, with the Ford Foundation's financial support, three experimental districts in non-white neighborhoods in which local boards could exercise some loosely defined authority.

Two of these three districts have hardly been out of the limelight ever since. To begin with, the Board of Education built a "dream school," I.S. 201 in Harlem, at a cost of $5 million, windowless, fully air-conditioned, and a planned teacher-pupil ratio of 1:13.8. The school opened in September 1966 with much of the decision-making left to the parents.

Eighteen months later I.S. 201 was described as a "bedlam" by the New York *Times* (Feb. 1, 1968) and called a "model mess" by the Associated Press (Feb. 27, 1968). Citywide tests in 1968 showed the average eighth-grader in I.S. 201 to be reading at a sixth-grade level.

Nor has the experience with the eight schools in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of Brooklyn given much comfort to the advocates of parental school control in low-income neighborhoods. "The unit's schools are a failure by any known measurement," wrote Martin Mayer in an article captioned "Frustration is the Word for Ocean Hill" in the New York *Times Magazine* which described the chaotic conditions there in the spring of 1968.

The most unfortunate part of it is that neighborhood control of the schools was not given a fair trial, nor is likely to get a chance as long as an atmosphere of recrimination and bitterness bordering on hate pervades the community.

New York's' experience does not permit a firm judgment on the true potential of parental school control. More tests need be conducted and the neighborhood councils (district boards) given a genuine opportunity to demonstrate that they can succeed where the schools' have so far failed. This must include authority to select teachers, supervisors, and administrators.

If it produces satisfactory results, decentralization can be expanded over broad areas to open the gates for all deprived children. But if parental school control, after an adequate trial period, turns out to be no more effective in improving academic performance than compensatory education and integration have proven to be, the entire problem of lagging children may have to be subjected to a more fundamental analysis.

Most of the approaches that have been tried so far were based on the assumption that the schools are responsible for the educational deficiencies of their students. Some of the schools, it is widely believed, are good, some are mediocre and some are bad. If the quality of the school were the decisive factor, its impact on the students would be uniform: all students in good schools would earn high scores on performance tests, all students from bad schools low scores.

But they do not. Differences in I.Q. and achievement tests within individual schools are wider than between the averages of the various schools. Some schools with low averages have graduated students with high scores and splendid academic achievements, and some schools with high averages have students who lag several years.

This suggests that characteristics of the student play an important, and possibly a decisive, role. Could it be that the causative factor is the reverse of what it is widely assumed to be? Is the educational quality of the school determined by the characteristics of its students more than vice versa?

The consistent failure of myriads of attempts to raise student performance through changes in school methods makes this a distinct possibility; and the findings of analytical studies turn it into a likelihood.

Reviewing the Coleman report, Christopher Jencks drew a significant conclusion with which many others agree: "Over all, the report makes a convincing though not definite case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control" (*New Republic*, Oct. 1, 1966).

I.Q. Tests

The (then) president of the American Association of School Administrators and San Francisco school superintendent Harold Spears carried that thought further when, in April 1967, in answering charges that the low average test scores in certain schools should be blamed on those schools, he insisted that achievement tends to correspond to student ability. Some "students through no fault of their own are not as bright as others" (San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 24, 1967).

That bright children perform better than dull children comes as no surprise: all studies of the subject have shown that scores on I.Q. tests and on achievement tests are very closely correlated. The question is: why are some children bright and others are not?

It can hardly be questioned that children may be—and many are—adversely affected by an unintellectual and deprived home environment and placed at a disadvantage by living in an impoverished neighborhood. Some children from such backgrounds score high on I.Q. and achievement tests, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

While the surroundings in which a child grows up may cause him to be several months behind on entering first grade, this hardly explains why the lag usually multi-

[4] If the school adminisrators were as certain as they pretend to be that educational quality is positively related to the number of dollars spent, would they not be eager to publish the schools' cost and performance data to prove their claim? That most of them steadfastly refuse to release such information suggests that the data tend to prove them wrong.

Although many liberals would like to alleviate the education problem through busing, the mass transfer of students out of their own neighborhoods has not produced the desired results.

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plies to one or several years while he advances to twelve grades. Would we not expect the influence of the school to moderate rather than intensify the damage of early childhood experience and the impact of home and neighborhood? I showed earlier that the quality of the school is unlikely to be a decisive factor.

Whatever the answer may be—and some far-fetched and unpersuasive explanations have been advanced—the remedy for an injurious impact of the home environment is the injection of another influence through an earlier start of schooling.

But even pre-school education has so far not been able to produce significant and lasting improvements in disadvantaged children. That is why it has been suggested that the rehabilitation process ought to be started earlier, at age four, or two, or even at birth. But there is no evidence that even removal from the home at time of birth alters the intelligence of children significantly: the I.Q.s of adopted children were found to correlate with their natural parents from whom they have been separated since birth and to bear little relationship to the foster home. Also, the I.Q.s of identical twins reared apart are almost as closely correlated as the I.Q.s of identical twins reared together.

This suggests that intervention at birth may come about nine months late.

Numerous studies of twins and adoptive children and the voluminous literature over the past three decades of laboratory experiments and scientific inquiries into the relationship of heredity to intelligence and performance were surveyed, analyzed and summarized in an article, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" which filled the entire Winter 1969 issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*. It was authored by Arthur R. Jensen, educational psychologist of U.C. at Berkeley who has probably done more in-depth study on intelligence and the nature-nurture question in recent years than anybody else in the United States.

Prof. Jensen's advice confirmed the conclusions of preceding reviews of the pertinent scientific literature, as for example, Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner's massive volume, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York, Harcourt Brace, 1964):

> Large differences in intelligence as measured by the standard intelligence tests are due principally to heredity. Here is one expert's review of studies on how much difference in ability results from the types of environmental differences usually found among homes and communities. One summary *with which most others agree fairly closely* is that the variation in tested intelligence among school children is accounted for:
>
> - 75% by heredity
> - 21% by environment
> - 4% by accidental factors (P. 217; emphasis supplied.)

Some social scientists disagree violently with findings that intelligence, school performance and occupational achievements have a biological basis and often react with emotional outbursts when that fact is mentioned. While no responsible scientist nowadays contends that heredity is the exclusive determinant of intellectual capacity —all accord a greater or lesser role to environment and interaction—some educators, psychologists, sociologists and others contend explicitly or by implication that genetic factors are immaterial to human intelligence, which is the exclusive result of environmental influences.

Environmentalists have tried for some years to discourage and discredit research on the nature-nurture (heredity vs. environment) question. They have particularly attacked the measurement of intelligence.

It is well established that I.Q. scores predict future scholastic achievement and occupational success more reliably than any other single measure. But the tests are charged with being "culturally loaded" against children from low-income backgrounds. To remedy that defect, psychologists set out to design "culture-free" tests of "problem solving" such as the Davis-Eels Game (1953). Within a few years it turned out that scores on such tests do little besides confirming the results of conventional I.Q. tests.

At the point those who feel that they know what the tests ought to show decided to abandon I.Q. tests altogether, as the New York City Board of Education did in 1964—true to the maxim: "If you don't like the fever, throw away the thermometer."

I.Q. tests are an extremely useful instrument to identify the relative ranking and prospects of an individual. How reliable they are is irrelevant to the question with which we are dealing here. All human traits such as height, weight, physical strength, etc., are distributed on a curve of some shape. There is no reason to assume that intelligence—even if it consists of several components—is not so distributed. Supposing we had no I.Q.s or other yardstick by which to measure individuals? There would still be 10 per cent of all people whose intelligence is below that of the other 90 per cent, although without a gauge we could not identify them.

Much recent writing on the education of disadvantaged children has assumed—or claimed, as for example Milton Schwebel in *Who Can Be Educated?* (Grove Press, N.Y., 1968)—that all children can be made to perform in the "3 R's" at least at the national norm, if not better. (Maybe there is something to the proposition that in a country as rich and powerful as ours, everybody ought to be above the average.)

All can be raised to the *norm*—to the same extent to which everybody can be made to swim, run, lift weights, sing, paint or sculpture at the national average. Everybody's performance in those and other skills can be substantially improved by intensive training. But some cannot be made to run, sing, paint—or do arithmetic—at a national average by any amount of training. A child with an I.Q. of 80 or below will only in the rarest of circumstances be able to equal the national norm in the "3 R's."

Jensen's Findings

I am painfully aware of the fact that some of the scientific findings I have cited could be misinterpreted as permitting racist implications or even misapplied to serve racist arguments. Because James Coleman was also conscious of such possibilities, he was careful to emphasize that "racial composition per se of the school was not related to achievement when the social class composition was controlled." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* stresses: " . . . no experimental design has been found for reliably assigning to heredity and environment the true fractions of the appreciable differences of average intelligence tests scores found among widely different races."

The evidence is unequivocal and overwhelming that an individual's intellectual capacity is not determined by his ethnic or racial background. But it is equally clear that certain physical and mental traits are to be found more frequently in some groups than in others.

Children's school performance is closely and positively related to their parents' income. The Oakland public schools, one of the very few city school systems to publish detailed information on each of its schools, disclosed that the reading test scores of sixth-grade children in the 10 schools with the lowest family income (median $4,143) were in 1966-67 more than two years behind those of children in the 10 schools with the highest family income (median $10,317). I.Q.s averaged 89 and 108 respectively. Not that the poorer children were discriminated against by the school system: there was one teacher for every 19.7 pupils in the low-income schools, one for every 29.2 pupils in the high-income schools.

Prof. Arthur Jensen, to whom I referred earlier, concluded in a paper read before the National Academy of Sciences on April 24, 1968, that "it is inevitable that socio-economic status (SES) differences in intelligence are due largely to genetic factors."

Such findings, no matter how well documented, are sheer reactionary heresy to some sociologists and others. But is it really so surprising that a child's score on the educational achievement tests of school tends to parallel his parents' score on the economic achievement test of life?

Educators of the behaviorist school hold that children from low SES families perform poorly because their parents' income is low. Is that not standing logic and causative relationships on their heads? Does it not stand to reason that a pear tree produces more pears than plums? Is it not more likely that both—low test scores and low income—are determined by a combination of genetic and environmental factors and interaction between the two?

Behaviorists act as if heredity extended only to such physical attributes as height, weight, color of skin, hair and eyes, etc., but had no bearing at all on mental traits. Animal experiments and breeding have proven that mental as well as physical characteristics are genetic. Obviously we cannot conduct such experiments on humans. But reason and observation suggest that laws of heredity apply to man and animal alike.

Prof. Arthur Jensen wrote in an article "Social Class, Race, and Genetics: Implications for Education"

> The over-all consistency of the major studies of the inheritance of intelligence clearly leads to the conclusion that genetic factors are of predominant importance as a cause of individual differences in measured intelligence in our present society.

Could all of these scientists be mistaken and their findings be erroneous? Possibly, but not likely. To clear up remaining heredity-enviornment uncertainties—and because the current debate is so dominated by emotional outbursts which often drown out facts and reason—my Stanford colleague, Prof. William Shockley, a 1956 Nobel Prize winner in physics, appealed in October 1966 to the National Academy of Sciences to sponsor relevant interdisciplinary research.

Greatly discomforted, academy heads replied that many of the facts were unknown, that "none of the current methods can produce unambiguous results," that some of the answers might be guesses which could be biased and that social problems such as poverty, slums, school dropouts and crime were not *entirely* genetic [whoever said they were?]. Therefore, they questioned the social urgency of a crash program. They did remark that "a selection program to increase human intelligence . . . would almost certainly be successful in some manner," a somewhat oblique way of saying that, in common with most scientists, they recognize the at least partially genetic nature of intelligence.

That research should not be vigorously pursued in an area because we don't know some of the facts and may not be able to produce unambiguous results with presently known methods, has never before, to my knowledge, been cited by a scientific body as an argument *against* increased research efforts in that field. It has occasionally served as an argument *for* more research.

We may wonder: If the environmentalists were so sure of being right, as they give the *appearance* of being, would they not welcome research which in the end would prove their case?

What then is the anwser to the problem of lagging children?

First and foremost, we need to do what John Fischer in a display of remarkable courage suggested in "The Stupidity Problem" (*Harper's*, September 1962): "We'll have to face up to the fact that all men are *not* created equal, except in the limited political sense which Jefferson had in mind when he drafted the Declaration of Independence."

As long as the schools keep acting as if *every* child had the capacity to learn and perform at a level equal to the average achievement of *all* children—the national norm—we shall continue to reap a harvest of failure, dropouts, frustration, and growing belligerency.

The surest way to incite people to violence is to raise their hopes beyond any possibility of fulfillment and tell them that their defeat and misery are the fault of certain other people or of the institutions of society. That is the stuff which riots, revolts and revolutions are made of.

This does not at all imply that we should —or could afford to—give up on less-gifted children. Only by establishing realistic goals for children of widely varying levels of ability, goals they can reach, can we truly offer every child the best education he is apt to absorb.

Contemporary techniques of psychological testing are far from perfect, but they permit us to determine with reasonable accuracy and reliability the learning capacity and the motivation, of children. *It is just as evil not to segregate children for educational purposes according to their measurable capacity as it is to segregate them deliberately by color of skin. And it is just as destructive.*

What we have to do below the college level is what we have done in higher education: offer a broad range of programs and opportunities to meet the needs of children with widely differing levels of learning capacity. For too long, the public schools have suffered from the affliction of many monopolies or near-monopolies: rigidity.

Neighborhood school control may offer a way out. Before putting it into effect in large areas it would first have to be given an opportunity to demonstrate what it can do for deprived—and other—children. The New York experiment has not been a fair test, so far.

Discouraged by the New York upheaval, Christopher Jencks—who in prior years enthusiastically supported compensatory education and desegregation but then recognized their failure—recently suggested that government should financially assist parents in setting up private schools for their children.[5] This would give the parents a freedom of choice they do not have at the present time. Only affluent parents can now afford to send their offspring to private schools, with the possible exception of the Catholics who, however, also begin to feel that the burden of maintaining parochial schools is becoming too heavy. As in many other fields, a competition among various school systems, public and private, could stimulate each school to exert its maximum efforts.

Whether this would raise the learning of deprived children remains to be seen. Christopher Jencks doubts it—and he may be right. But if nothing else, it could provide a political modus vivendi which is tolerable to all sides.

James Coleman advanced another idea that merits careful consideration. He calls it "Open Schools." The teaching of basic skills, or of the entire program, would be contracted out to entrepreneurs, paid in proportion to the increased performance of children on standardized tests.

Neither the Jencks and Coleman plans nor any of the other proposals that have been advanced are free of pitfalls or do not call for elaborate safeguards. But what are the alternatives? To go on pretending like the alchemists of yore that we can transmute one basic material into another by a process which has proven to be incapable of doing anything of the kind?

Maybe we can afford to continue pouring out billions of taxpayers' money to support methods which have proven ineffective a thousand times but are favored by politicians who would do anything rather than face their constituents with an unpalatable truth. They may remember Calvin Coolidge's acid remark: "You can always get a lot of votes by telling people that their troubles are not their own fault."

But can we afford a further crescendo in the periodic outbreaks of violence that have wracked our cities and schools with growing frequency and intensity in recent years? Is it too much to hope that the latter-day alchemists in our public schools will see the futility of their quest in less time than it took their spiritual ancestors to accept the fact of life that gold can be found only where nature placed it? If it is, then the rest of us will have to take a stronger hand in school affairs than we have so far. *Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt.*

[5] Christopher Jencks, "Private Schools for Black Children," New York *Times Magazine*, Nov. 3, 1968.

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Blount Forgets Mailman's Right to Work

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Postmaster General Winton Blount set ff some rumbles of real concern last week, hen a transcript became available of his stimony on the proposed new postal cor- oration. With great candor, the PMG aid, yes, a union shop might be in pros- ect for postal workers. He may have ained a few friends among the postal un- ons; but he probably lost his bill in the rocess.

It is hard to know how much signifi- ance to read into Blount's remarks. The alding Alabamian is a truly nice guy; hen it gets hot in Washington, he sweats reat beads of honesty across his brow. ut if he realized exactly what he was aying—and especially if his testimony epresented a considered view of the ixon Administration—Blount was badly ff base.

The Administration is backing a pro- osal, pioneered in the days of Lyndon ohnson, that would abolish the Post Of- ice Department as an agency of the U.S. overnment. The conduct of the mails ould be transferred to a quasi-public orporation, rather along the lines of the T&T, that would operate with mini- nal supervision from the Congress.

The plan makes sense. It would over- ome most of the political and parliamen- ary problems that bedevil the Post Office ow. In the course of time, it might pro- luce a businesslike operation, profession- lly managed, efficiently run. Postal orkers conceivably could have the most o gain from it, in better working con- itions and new opportunities for ad- ancement, but their union leaders are earful of change. They strongly oppose he Administration plan.

Blount was trying to overcome this op- osition in his appearance before the ouse committee. He made a big pitch or the broader rights of collective bar- aining the workers would have if a pri- ate corporation had charge of the mail.

They would have a right, he said, to bar- gain with management "on all of the matters—including bread-and-butter is- sues like wages and hours—which their neighbors in private industry have long been able to bargain for." The present statutory ban on strikes would continue, of course, and some new system of bind- ing arbitration would be devised, but otherwise the postal unions would bargain like all other unions in the private sector, on issues across the board.

Congressman Gerald Ford went to the eart of the matter: "Does that include he union shop and agency shop?" This colloquy followed:

"Mr . Blount: They could be bargained for in the collective bargaining process, yes.

"Mr. Ford: You have no objection to a recognized union negotiating a union shop with the Post Office?

"Mr. Blount: Not as a matter of collective bargaining."

Ford tried for ten minutes to get the PMG out of the soup, but Blount blissfully plunged a little deeper. It would indeed be possible, he said, for the postal corporation to sign a union shop contract with the postal unions. In this event, Ford asked, would all postal employes in a bargaining unit have to pay union dues "whether they joined the union or not"?

"Yes, sir," said the agreeable PMG. Whereupon Ford gave up.

The point is important. Seven well-orgainzed unions (six of them affiliated with AFL-CIO) now negotiate a contract with the Post Office Department. The current agreement, running to 175 pages, expires in March of next year. The contract covers a thousand picky details of working conditions, overtime, seniority, and the like, but for obvious reasons it is silent on gut issues: Base wage rates and union security. Wage scales are up to Congress, and it would be unthinkable—it probably would be unconstituutional also—to demand that a citizen join a union in order to hold a federal job.

Roughly 85 per cent of all postal employes are now union members. So long as membership is voluntary, no one objects. The "right to join" is not challenged. But there is a corollary right not to join, and this is equally precious, whether it is exercised by 15 per cent, or 10 per cent, or one per cent. Blount knows this or ought to know it. A union shop couldn't be countenanced. One hopes his boss will set him straight.

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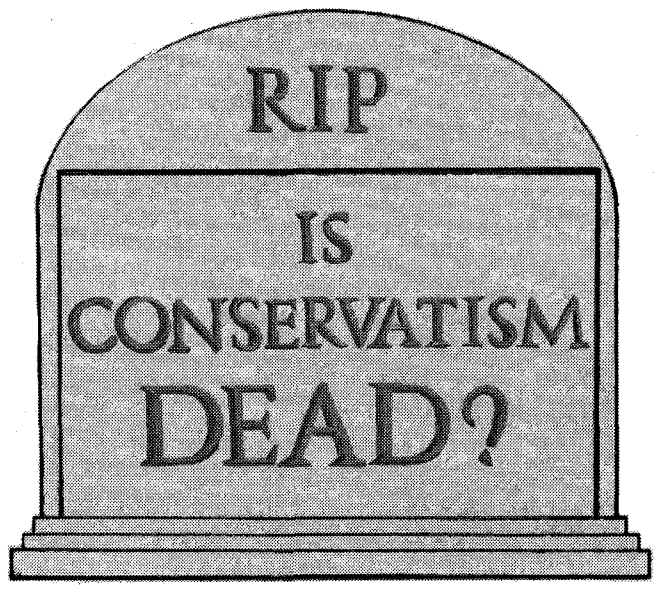

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editorial April 8, 1969

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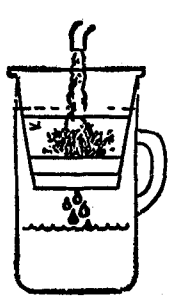

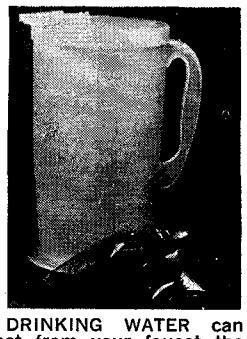

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YR Convention Passes Conservative Resolutions

Below is a representative selection of the resolutions passed at the convention of the Young Republican National Federation in Chicago, Friday, July 11. Although, as explained in **Human Events** last week, the platform adopted had liberal rhetoric, these resolutions show the conservative feelings of the majority of the YR delegates once they were freed from the pressures and commitments of political wheeling and dealing. The delegates also instructed the YRNF office to have these resolutions printed, bound and distributed to all GOP congressmen and other party leaders in hopes of showing the Nixon Administration that the majority of Young Republicans want more conservative government policies.

VIET NAM

Whereas, The Viet Nam war is now the longest war in American history, costing upwards of $100 billion and more than one quarter of a million American casualites including 35,000 dead, and

Whereas, The vacillating policies of the past two administrations have lead to no resolution of the conflict either on the battlefield or at the conference table, and

Wheras, This conflict represents a clear abdication of congressional ressponsibility,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation does strongly urge President Nixon to use all powers at his command to successfully and honorably terminate this conflict through victory. [The words "through victory" were added through an amendment on the floor.]

CAMPUS UNREST

Whereas, The right of peaceful dissent and protest is a recognized principle of our democratic system and

Whereas, A small group of students and faculty has seen fit to violate legitimate methods of dissent and has adopted violent, revolutionary means to overthrow existing structures of society without regard or tolerance for the rights of other groups and individuals.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation can not accept or condone the violent and destructive methods employed by these groups, and

Be it further resolved that: Maintenance of law and order is the prime responsibility of those in authority and the campus must not be a sanctuary from prosecution for those who incite to riot, destroy property or interfere with rights of law-abiding students, and

Be it further resolved that: Federal aid or other governmental assistance should be withdrawn from students who who engage in acts of violence, and

Be it further resolved that: We express our support for ROTC programs and condemn abandonment of these courses in the face of "New Left" compulsion.

PARTY LOYALTY

Whereas, It is the purpose of the Republican party and of the Young Republican National Federation to promote Republican candidates and ideals, and

Whereas, The primary system has been established to allow voters to make a decision between two or more candidates, and

Whereas, Certain Republican individuals have shown by words and action that they do not intend to abide by the wishes and judgement of Republican voters, and

Whereas, Only through unified efforts and support of Republican candidates can we hope to maintain a strong and productive Republican party,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation assembled here in convention, do repudiate and condemn those so-called Republicans who disregard and flaunt the wishes of the voters of the Republican party as expressed in primary elections.

SUPREME COURT

Whereas, a precise, literal interpretation of our nation's laws is necessary if those laws are to have any enduring significance, and

Whereas, Chief Justice Warren Burger has indicated by his statements and his past record that he recognizes this fact, and

Now, therefore, be it resolved: The Young Republican National Federation applauds President Nixon on his appointment of Justice Burger and urges that his future Supreme Court appointments be drawn from like-minded men. [An amendment that would have added "and liberal" after "literal" in the first line and spoke of the "splendid work of Chief Justice Earl Warren" was overwhelmingly shouted down.]

Outgoing YRNF President Jack McDonald, left, gets Mrs. Julie Nixon Eisenhower's autograph at the recent YR convention. Looking on is Natalie Dunlop, of Stockton, Calif., who is Miss College Young Republican.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

Whereas, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was amended on Nov. 14, 1967 by Public Law 90-137, Section 620 of which reads:

"No loans, credits, guarantees or grants or other assistance shall be furnished under this or any other act, and no sales shall be made under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, to any country which sells or furnishes to North Viet Nam, or which permits ships or aircraft under its regency to transport to or from North Viet Nam, any equipment, materials, or commodities, so long as the regime in North Viet Nam gives support to hostilities in South Viet Nam," and

Whereas, in the 18 months since November 1967, when the intent of Congress was made clear by this amendment, over 160 ships flying the flags of free world countries have delivered goods to North Viet Nam, according to Rep. Ed Foreman (R.-N.M.), and

Whereas, during this same 18 months, over 16,000 Americans were killed in Viet Nam and over 100,000 have been wounded,

Now, therefore be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation supports Rep. Foreman's concurrent resolution which calls on the President to immediately halt all United States aid and trade with countries assisting North Viet Nam. And the Young Republican National Federation further calls for an economic and physical blockade of the seacoast of North Viet Nam.

URBAN RENEWAL

Whereas, urban renewal programs sponsored by the federal government have destroyed more housing than they have built, and

Whereas, federal urban renewal programs have resulted in the dislocation from their homes of many low-income families, and

Whereas, it is wrong in principle to condemn one man's property for resale to another private party;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation is in favor of an end to federal urban renewal programs and in favor of greater reliance on private enterprise as the real generator of urban progress.

FREE ENTERPRISE

Whereas, we, as Young Republicans, believe that the best government is that which governs least, and we believe in the free enterprise system, permitting business and industry to operate unshackled by governmental regulations, and free of burdensome unfair taxes, and

Whereas, violations of these principles have produced hundreds of government activities now competing with private free enterprise, necessitating the imposition of excessive taxes to pay for the billions of dollars in losses annually sustained by these activities,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: We, as Young Republicans, will seek to have the Congress of the United States and the various state legislatures update and clarify the United States Constitution by proposing and ratifying an appropriately worded amendment or series of amendments which will do the following:

(1) Carefully delineate the types of activity in which the federal government shall be permitted to engage itself in its agencies.

(2) Expressly prohibit the federal government and its agencies from engaging in any enterprise *not* specified in such a revised Constitution.

(3) Require the federal government and its agencies to divest themselves of all present activities and facilities not specified in such a revised Constitution within a reasonable time.

(4) Specify that the proceeds from the disposition of these facilities and the savings resultant from the elimination of unauthorized activities shall be applied solely toward reduction or elimination of the national debt and/or the personal income tax.

MANDATORY SENTENCES

Whereas, the freedom of individual Americans depends upon the sanctity and safety of their persons and property, and

Whereas, that sanctity and safety increasingly has been threatened by a rising tide of crime, and

Whereas, the perpetrators of much of the crime prove to be second and third offenders, and

Now, therefore, be it resolved that The Young Republican National Federation urges that the legislatures of the several states enact laws to make jail sentences mandatory for all repeat offenders convicted of crimes against persons.

GRAPE BOYCOTT

Whereas after failing to organize farm workers successfully, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee is now attempting to force grocery stores to remove table grapes from the marketplace, and

Whereas, this anti-consumer boycott of table grapes, supported in large part by a coalition of New Left activists is a severe threat to the nation's agriculture, to the free enterprise system, and to the freedom of choice by farm workers and consumers, and

Whereas, the Consumer Rights Committee has been formed nationally to protect freedom of choice for consumers and farm workers and to inform the public of the vulnerability of farmers to strikes at harvest times and other critical growing periods and to guarantee the right of free collective bargaining for farm workers,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that. The Young Republican National Federation supports the efforts of the Consumer Rights Committee and will aid wherever possible in educating the American public of the nature of the grape boycott, and

Be it further resolved, that: The Young Republican National Federation supports legislation such as Sen. George Murphy's S.2203, which will outlaw secondary boycotts that threaten consumers basic rights, which will insure the free flow of goods to the American public and which will apply national standards to agricultural labor relations.

ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE

Whereas, the Safeguard ABM system proposed by President Nixon is supported by scientific, military, and intelligence experts as necessary, logical, non-provocative, and long overdue, and,

Whereas, we feel that the Safeguard system should be developed to give our retaliatory force flexibility and credibility, and,

Whereas, the vast majority of Americans support implementation of the system,

Continued on page 14

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Comply or Else

Coercion Is No Way to Foster Equal Opportunity

Reprinted with permission from *Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly*, July 7, 1969

"Philadelphia and its people have a great heritage of freedom which is rich in historical events known to every school child throughout the Nation. It was here that the Declaration of Independence was signed and it was here freedom's ring was heard for the first time. It was here that the Constitution of our country guaranteeing freedom for all was drafted. A vital freedom guaranteed by our Constitution is the right to equal participation in the economic processes of our society. This freedom has been denied to groups within our country. This denial of fundamental participation in the advantages of capitalism has even been institutionalized in our society. The federal government cannot contribute to this denial of rights. . . .The federal government has an obligation to see that every citizen has an equal chance at the most basic freedom of all—the right to succeed. . . .It's most appropriate that a plan for equal employment opportunity should bear the title 'Philadelphia Plan' and should be inaugurated in this city."

★★★

As Fourth-of-July oratory, it would ring no Liberty Bells nor make the eagle scream. Yet the foregoing passage from a speech delivered by Arthur Fletcher, Assistant Secretary of Labor, in the City of Brotherly Love, does boast a certain grim timeliness. For the speaker chose to wax eloquent at a public ceremony during which, by White House authority, he signed an order requiring bidders on large government construction contracts "to submit affirmative action plans setting specific goals for the utilization of minority employes based on federally established standards."

Moreover, while the order at first will cover only the Philadelphia area, it has "national implications." Secretary Fletcher went on to spell them out. "Because of the deplorably low rate of employment among minority groups" in the more attractive building trades throughout the United States, "we (propose) in the immediate future to set up similar plans in other major cities."

The background and timing could scarcely have been more fitting, and the package came wrapped in the flag. Yet to contemporary lovers of freedom (and believers in equal opportunity), the affair must have smacked less of Madison or Jefferson than of George III. Like the latter, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (which Mr. Fletcher heads) and a "multitude of new offices" in the same realm, have dispatched, to quote the Declaration of Independence, "swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance." In contemplating "goals" for minority employment, the new Philadelphia plan seeks to evade legal objections which the U.S. General Accounting Office, citing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, has raised to quotas; yet its thrust is no less discriminatory.

Finally, the Executive Order authorizing and inspiring all such efforts has begun to strike legislators as contrary to the letter as well as the spirit of the law, and hence unconstitutional. Prejudice is ugly, demeaning and destructive, but men of goodwill, in the fullness of time, may surmount it. Tyranny is harder to overcome.

What the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and its eloquent head are seeking to perpetrate comes perilously close. Under the new Philadelphia Plan—as explained in the official release—the OFCC area coordinator, together with other federal agencies involved, will fix minority employment yardsticks in seven building trades, including iron work, plumbing and pipefitting, steamfitting, sheetmetal work, electrical work, roofing and waterproofing and elevator construction. These standards —"which will not be negotiable between the government and the builder"—will specify the "range" of minority employment for each trade throughout the life of the federal contract.

In setting them, OFCC will consider such elements as the current extent of minority group participation in the trade, availability of minority workers and the need for training programs in the area. Under the order, the term "minority" applies to "Negroes, Orientals, American Indians and sons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or Spanish heritage." The OFCC, summed up Assistant Secretary Fletcher grandly, "must translate the dreams and ambitions of a large segment of our population into everyday realities."

This may be the bureaucrat's notion of the American dream; to us, it looks more like a collectivist nightmare, or, in the words of the Declaration, "a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws." Under the Administrative Procedures Act, most official regulations are published in the Federal Register and take effect only after duly constituted public hearings. However, by labeling the new Philadelphia plan an "order," the OFCC hopes to rush it into effect by mid-July.

The "order," by the way, is shot through with the same semantic trickery. Thus, instead of referring to employment quotas, which the General Accounting Office last fall barred as illegal, the revised version (on which, by the way, GAO has yet to pass) carefully speaks of "standards" and "goals." "When I use a word," said Humpty-Dumpty, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

OFCC and its companion agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, seems to have sprung from the same faintly sinister Wonderland. Both function under Executive Order 11246, promulgated in 1965 by President Johnson to carry out the mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was designed to prevent job discrimination by federal contractors. Yet pursuant to its authority, both bodies have issued regulations (or "orders") specifying training, apprenticeship, recruitment and other "affirmative action" programs on which the statute is silent.

Far worse, despite the express intent of Congress, both OFCC and EEOC have chosen to interpret the law as sanctioning employment quotas (or "standards" or "goals"), and other schemes illegally aimed at favoring minorities.

As a consequence some lawmakers, including the influential Sen. McClellan (D.-Ark) are questioning the Executive Order validity. "It is a well-established prinicple of constitutional law," the senator recently wrote the GAO in seeking a formal opinion on the issue, "that. . . the President's general direction power is by no means absolute. On the contrary, its exercise is subject to important limitations. Foremost among these is the well-settled rule that an Executive order or any other Executive action, whether by formal order or by regulation, cannot contravene an act of Congress which is constitutional. When an Executive order collides with a statute enacted pursuant to the constitutional authority of Congress, the statute will prevail." Highhandedness came naturally to the "Great Society." Its successor should have greater regard for due process, as well as a "decent respect for the opinion of mankind."

That's notably true today, when the nation is making greater strides than ever ever toward equal opportunity. In 1967 the Building Trades Unions, which far too long had been lilywhite, launched a program known as "Outreach," which has trained and placed several thousand apprentices and earned kudos from Assistant Secretary of Labor Fletcher's own employer. In a number of cities—Detroit and Rochester, to cite two —labor and management are working together to improve efficiency and expand job opportunities for everyone in residential construction.

The U.S. Constitution speaks of the "blessings of liberty." The way to achieve them, "for ourselves and our posterity," is not by bureaucratic fiat but through example, persuasion and goodwill.

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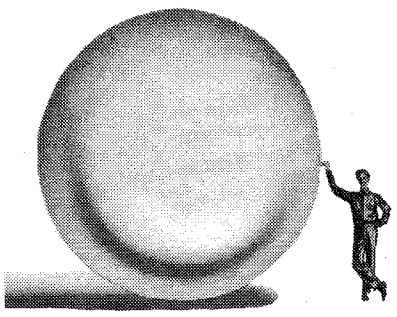

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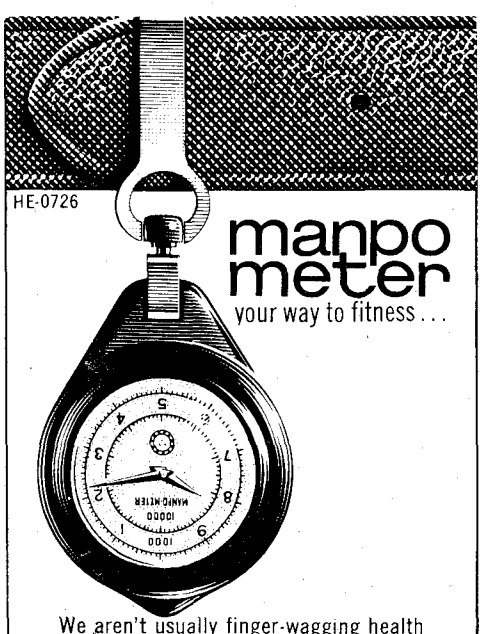

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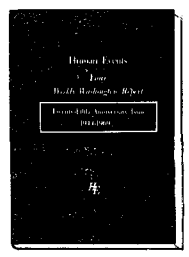

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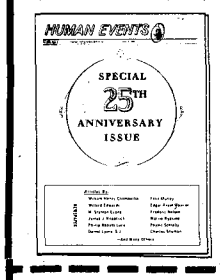

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Continued from Page 12

Conservative YR Resolutions

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation urges all members of Congress to support legislation which will lead to the earliest possible deployment of such a system.

GUN CONTROL ACT OF 1968

Whereas, the problem of crimes of violence in the Nation's urban areas lies with the failure to enforce the penalties prescribed by law, and,

Whereas, the right to protect one's person and property is fundamental to the maintenance of a free society and,

Whereas, the right to bear arms is guaranteed in Article II of the Bill of Rights,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that: The Young Republican National Federation calls upon the President and the Congress to repeal the Gun Control Act of 1968.

★ ★ ★

The YR delegates also passed, as a resolution, the following excerpts from the Minority Report of the Platform Committee:

We condemn the violence of the "New Left," which destroys freedom and denies the rights of others.

We summon all young Americans to a true crusade for freedom, a crusade for limited government and maximum individual freedom.

We believe many university faculties and administrations bear a share of responsibility for recent outbreaks of disorder. When violence has exploded, too many colleges and universities have excused disruption, and failed to protect the rights of peaceful students.

Disorders on campus are both a cause and a reflection of disorders in American society at large, particularly the top-heavy system of collectivist bureaucracy constructed in the past several decades.

To get at the root of these problems, we urge curtailment of bureaucratic systems, and commend the Nixon Administration for its efforts in this regard.

The drainage of power from the individual, local communities and the states must be reversed. There must be a reaffirmation of the principles of choice and voluntary effort, rather than a drift toward further compulsion and bigger bureaucracy.

We reject the idea that government should regulate every aspect of human life. This is the road to collectivist slavery.

We reject the idea that the federal government should interfere in local school districts to establish artificial "racial balance" formulas, particularly by busing.

Federal interference in the agricultural economy has resulted in derangement of the free market, the build-up of surpluses, and the depression of prices. We urge a gradual reduction in supports and controls, restoring freedom to the American farmer.

Present minimum-wage laws have been responsible for high unemployment among young people, particularly minority youth. We urge congressional adjustment of these laws to allow greater employment opportunity for the young.

In matters pertaining to the federal structure, we condemn numerous recent Supreme Court decisions which have eroded the reserved powers of the states.

We express our support for the prayer amendment, which would allow voluntary prayer in the classrooms, according to the discretion of the individual states.

We support the amendment proposed by Sen. Everett Dirksen which would restore to the states their power to apportion their legislatures, rather than having this vital function dictated to them from Washington.

We deplore, additionally, the Supreme Court decisions which have sacrificed realistic law enforcement to the minutest technicalities, tying the hands of police and contributing to the upward spiral of the crime rate. These decisions strike at the essential order-keeping function of government, and erode the rights of peaceful citizens and victims who are subjected to repeated criminal attack.

American foreign policy should protect our nation's legitimate national interests.

The greatest international threat to our liberties is the apparatus of communism, and our foreign policy must be geared to a realistic assessment of this danger. The delusion of "co-existence" with this enemy has long since been discredited, and our policy must stress victory over its aggressive intentions.

President Nixon has correctly condemned those who would trust America's survival to unilateral disarmanent.

In the struggle with communism, America must seek to build a free world alliance of anti-Communist nations who share our concern to halt Communist aggression.

To this end, we urge continued friendship with such nations as Nationalist China, and unreservedly oppose either recognition or United Nations membership for the Communist Chinese.

We believe the United States should lend its good offices to the development of a Free Asian Defense Alliance, including such nations as Nationalist China, South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, South Viet Nam, the Philippines, and anti-Communist Indonesia, which would relieve the pressure for continued commitment of American personnel to the Asian theater.

Similar defense efforts should be launched in other parts of the world, particularly in Latin America and Africa.

We recognize Israel as a firm ally of the United States in the Middle East, and support preservation of her territorial integrity, including full diplomatic backing and sale of arms.

Other resolutions passed by the convention called for reforms in the draft system, continued support of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, postal reorganization, greater food relief for Biafra, making the answering of "intimate" census questions voluntary and removing penalties for refusal to answer them, and praise of the U.S. space achievements. In connection with this last resolution, delegates praised Rep. Roudebush's efforts to see that only the American flag was placed on the moon and urged that the name of the city of Cape Kennedy, Fla., be changed back to Cape Canaveral.

Television's Pseudoevents

By RUSSELL KIRK

Can television and film producers be deterred from crafty deluding of the public? Despite exposure of such rascals' talent for creating the pseudoevent, examples of this charlatanry multiply.

The most recent instance of deliberate falsification occurred at Berkeley, during the riot over the "People's Park" by an assortment of Telegraph Avenue "street people" and radical students. Fantastic though these demonstrators were in appearance, apparently they weren't wild enough to satisfy Hollywood producers.

For, according to an Alameda County police official, a film crew using Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer credit cards hired young Negroes to dress up as Black Panthers and make the scene more picturesque and ominous. A Black Panther officer says these ruffians in berets and black jackets were impostors.

Next, I suppose, we will learn that some riot was wholly organized and incited by a television network or a big movie company to make a sensation. Apparently during the University of California at Berkeley riot on March 6, the same tactic of salting the mob with pseudomilitants was employed by Hollywood people.

Everybody knows, or ought to know, that CBS fraudulently staged a "pot party" at Northwestern University last year, and showed it nationally as an actual student happening. (Only the marijuana was genuine.) Federal Communications Commission people reproached CBS for this, but sighed that nothing could be done by way of punishment.

Recent television "documentaries" on hunger in America are said to have been stuffed with falsification. One governmental office was persuaded to close its doors for some considerable time so as to create a queue of relief applicants where no line-up existed normally. A high school student depicted most pathetically as a victim of want turned out, upon investigation, to come from a family in comfortable circumstances; he had been recruited by the fabulists of TV.

Television and movieland can delude more successfully than any newspaper could. Newspapers, anyway, are governed by some tacit or coherent code of ethics that forbids wholesale fabrication or manufacture of pseudoevents and pseudopeople; but many cameramen appear to labor under no such inhibitions.

Newspaper reporting is chastened by the hard fact that things set down in print must be put more precisely than the fleeting impressions of the movie or television camera. And any doubting Thomas can refer back to a newspaper report, comparing it with other published accounts and demanding an explanation of apparent inconsistencies or ambiguities; while it is difficult to see the same television program or newsreel twice or to obtain any public explanation from the producers of such influential ephemera.

Both urban disorders and student rioting have been provoked by exciting (and often biased or exaggerated) television films on more than one occasion: the violent or neurotic, thousands of miles distant, are incited to do their thing in emulation of anarchy beheld on TV. Malicious sensationalism is a far cry from the freedom to know.

If the creators of the pseudoevent and the pseudosufferer cannot restrain themselves, statutes and penalties may be contrived that could make them pay after the event, at any rate, for their contempt for truth. Meanwhile, we do well to remember that there exist plenty of liars equipped with expensive cameras; and that seeing on television or at the movies shouldn't be believing.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Status of Major Legislation in 91st Congress as of June 30

Agriculture

Fight developing in Congress between rural and urban Members over continuation of farm subsidy programs.

APPROPRIATIONS

Administration request—$6.967 billion for Agriculture Department for fiscal 1970, including $3.5 billion for farm subsidies.

House—HR 11612 appropriating $6.806 billion passed May 27 by 322-50 roll-call vote. Amendment passed by 225-142 roll-call vote setting ceiling of $20,000 on subsidy payments to individual farmers.

Senate—Appropriations Committee June 25 approved HR 11612, appropriating $7.636 billion and dropping $20,000 subsidy limitation.

Outlook—House-Senate disagreement over subsidy limitation expected.

Anti-Poverty and Hunger

Congress has begun to act on proposals to increase spending on food programs for the poor, but other recommendations for major changes are held up in committees. Action on anti-poverty program has been delayed because of differences between Administration and Congressional liberals.

ANTI-POVERTY AUTHORIZATION

Administration Request—Extend programs under Office of Economic Opportunity for two years and authorize $2.048 billion for fiscal 1970. Administration also proposed delegating authority for Head Start program to Department of Health, Education and Welfare and for Job Corps to Department of Labor. The delegations do not require Congressional approval.

House—Completed hearings June 2 on HR 513 to extend anti-poverty program for five years and to authorize $2.180 billion for fiscal 1970.

Senate—Completed hearings June 6 on S 1809 to continue the anti-poverty program for three years; authorize $2.180 billion for fiscal 1970 and authorize an additional $1 billion for special hunger program and $100 million for day-care centers.

Outlook—Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty has scheduled mark-up sessions on S 1809 for July 15, 18 and 22. House Education and Labor Committee postponed further action on HR 513 while considering legislation on campus disorders.

FOOD STAMPS

Administration request—Administration proposed following changes: provide free food stamps to families with monthly incomes under $30, revise food stamp prices so that family of four could purchase a minimum of $100 worth of food a month and spend no more than 30 percent of its income for food, and force states to begin federal food programs in counties where none existed.

House—Hearings scheduled before House Agriculture Committee July 15 on HR 12430, omnibus farm bill which includes provision to make food stamp program permanent.

Senate—Senate Agriculture Committee completed hearings May 27 on food stamp measures (July 1 completed mark-up of bill providing $1.5 billion fiscal 1971 and 1972 authorization and making other changes.)

Outlook—Senate floor fight likely over failure of Senate Committee to provide free food stamps.

Civil Rights

Extension of Voting Rights Act of 1965 appears to be only civil rights legislation likely to be acted upon this year. Increased powers for Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have been proposed (S 2029) and Administration has shown some interest, but no action has been taken.

VOTING RIGHTS

Administration request—Attorney General Mitchell June 26 asked that Congress amend 1965 Act to ban literacy tests anywhere in the nation until 1974; to ban state residency requirements for Presidential elections; to give Attorney General nationwide authority to dispatch voting examiners and observers and to start voting rights law suits and request freeze on discriminatory voting laws.

House—Judiciary Subcommittee completed hearings July 1; was expected to report out bill extending the 1965 Act, unamended, for five years.

Senate—No action to June 30. (Hearings announced July 1 to begin July 9.)

Outlook—Confrontation between those who wish merely to extend 1965 Act, which applies only to seven Southern states, and those, chiefly Southerners, supported by the Administration, who wish to extend coverage to all states.

Crime and Law Enforcement

The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures held extensive hearings in May and June on a package of related proposals aimed at providing additional federal legal weapons against organized crime. Much of the legislation, which centers around S 30, the "Organized Crime Control Act of 1969," has bipartisan backing and Administration support, subject to final determination of details.

ORGANIZED CRIME CONTROL

Administration position—Supports broad objectives of S 30 proposals concerning grand juries, witness immunity, perjury, witness protection and related subjects, while recommending some changes.

House—No action.

Senate—Hearings held May and June, continuing.

Outlook—A committee bill expected to emerge after completion of hearings, with prospects for strong backing.

Defense

Administration request to build Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system considered a key issue of Nixon legislative program. Senate Armed Services Committee voted to include authorization for deployment of ABM system in procurement bill 27 June. Budgeting authorization amounted to $794 million and additional $135 million for AEC research and development of Safeguard warheads.

Outlook—Senate debate on ABM expected second week in July. Close vote expected.

Draft

Administration request—President May 13 asked Congress for authority to institute a draft lottery.

House—Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R Ill.) June 2 introduced HR 11780, bill to grant President's request.

Senate—No action.

Outlook—A House Armed Services Committee staff member said Arends' bill had little chance of being taken up; Senate Armed Services Committee staff member said Chairman John Stennis (D Miss.) "doubts we will get to it this year." House Armed Services Committee, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars opposed draft lottery in 1967.

Education

ESEA EXTENSION

Administration request—Two year extension of ESEA programs, impact aid; consolidation of certain state grant programs; no expansion of impact aid.

House—HR 514 extending ESEA for two years passed April 23 by 400-17 roll-call vote. Included consolidation of state programs, new impact aid program.

Senate—Hearings in progress on S 2218, four-year extension of ESEA and impact aid programs.

Outlook—Senate hearings scheduled through mid-July Subcommittee has not set target date for action on bill, an aide said.

Electoral Reform

Administration request—President Nixon personally favors direct popular election of President and Vice President but has argued that such a proposal could not win the required approval of three-fourths of the states by 1972.

House—Hearings completed March 12. Judiciary Committee April 30 ordered reported H J Res 681 proposing a constitutional amendment to provide for direct popular election of President and Vice President.

Senate—Hearings completed May 2.

Outlook—Administration expected to support a direct election plan if Congress approves one but ratification is not expected in time for 1972 Presidential elections.

Foreign Policy

EAST-WEST TRADE

Members of Congress have been attempting to modify 20-year-old restrictions on U.S. trade with Communist nations. Administration has supported continuation of present policy.

Export Control Act (PL 89-63)

Administration request—Four-year extension of present Act, which expires June 30 (HR 4293, S 813).

House—Hearings begun in Banking and Currency Subcommittee on International Finance on extension of Act and related bills to amend or replace Act with less restrictive legislation (HR 11472, HR 11563). House June 27 passed a joint resolution (S J Res 122), extending Act to Aug. 30.

Senate—Hearings held in Banking and Currency Subcommittee on International Finance on less restrictive export legislation (S 1940). Full Committee now considering compromise measures in executive session. Senate June 26 passed and sent to House a joint resolution (S J Res 122) extending existing Act to Aug. 30. Hearings not yet held on compromise bill (S 2390) introduced June 12 by Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R Mass.).

Outlook—Pressures to change Act continue to grow, and a compromise measure may be passed.

Foreign Aid

Administration's $2.6 billion foreign aid request, although lowest in history of program, is likely to be reduced further by Congress.

AUTHORIZATION

Administration request—$2.2 billion in economic assistance; $375 million in military assistance.

House—HR 11792, authorizing $2.6 billion in foreign aid. Hearings began June 9 in Foreign Affairs Committee.

Senate—S 2347, authorizing $2.6 billion in foreign aid. Hearings not yet scheduled in the Foreign Relations Committee.

Outlook—Passage of the authorization request may be held up until after the August recess. Cuts in economic aid expected in both chambers. Military aid program receiving critical attention in Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs

Taxes, Economic Policy

Liberals were determined to force Nixon Administration and Congressional leaders to support tax reform in return for extension beyond the June 30 expiration date of income surtax. Administration considered extension essential part of its battle against inflation.

SURTAX EXTENSION

Administration request—President wanted surtax extended at 10 percent through Dec. 30, 1969, and at 5 percent through June 30, 1970. In addition, he asked for repeal of 7-percent investment credit, and postponement of scheduled excise tax reductions. As compromise for tax reform proponents he later included tax relief for the poor.

House—June 30 by 210-205 roll-call vote passed President's tax package.

Senate—Hearings to begin about July 14.

Outlook—Democratic leadership has expressed desire to attach tax reforms to surtax bill. Congress extended the withholding taxes at the current rates through July 31. Thus, there would be no practical effect for individuals if surtax were not extended by then.

TAX REFORM

Administration request—Administration April 21 sent Congress tax-reform package for approval this Session. It planned at least one other message by end of session and possibly another during Second Session.

House—Ways and Means Committee held lengthy hearings on tax reform in spring and made one announcement of tentative agreement on some specific reforms.

Outlook—Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.) of House Ways and Means Committee has said he hoped to have comprehensive tax reform bill through House by the end of First Session. Tax reform could be speeded along, however, by Senate amendment to surtax extension.

Post Office

POSTAL REFORM

Administration request—President May 27 asked that Post Office Department be converted into self-supporting, Government-owned corporation.

House—Post Office and Civil Service Committee holding hearings on Administration bill (HR 11750) and other postal reform measures.

Senate—No action.

Outlook—Action unlikely this year. In House, a number of Committee members oppose corporation plan but have not reached consensus on alternative proposals. In Senate, Administration bill not introduced and no hearings set on any postal reform measures.

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Why the Money Crisis Could Trigger the Next Depression

AND HOW YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR LIFE SAVINGS

If economist William F. Rickenbacker is right, there may be little time left to convert your holdings to a form that can withstand the coming financial holocaust. In DEATH OF THE DOLLAR, he explains with cool — no, bone-chilling — logic, why he thinks the depression must come. Then he reasons out the steps (the very few steps) that you can take to protect the assets you've accumulated.

WHAT A NIGHTMARE! You lose your job or business. You see the value of your stocks or property drop by half overnight. You lose most of your savings. In effect, you must pay twice as much for your mortgage or car loan, *and you can't get any further credit!* The trouble is, this may not just be a bad dream; it could be a FACT.

According to Rickenbacker, *the stage is already set for the worst depression in American history.* It is the current gold crisis that will trigger the holocaust. Nobody knows exactly how and when; it could be next year or maybe next week. But strike it will, says Rickenbacker, *probably with no more warning than what you are reading right now!*

Step by step, the author explains why. He shows how our gold reserves are tied to our international balance of payments. With plain horse-sense reasoning, he shows why all the financial parachutes and fire extinguishers that the government has laced through our money system will prove to be *frauds* when the chips are down.

Does FDIC insurance on your savings account make you feel secure? At this very moment the FDIC can pay no more than $1 for every $100 of yours it has insured! Are you impressed when the Federal Reserve "monetizes the debt"? Rickenbacker shows how this can take a $100 debt, turn it into a $600 credit and skyrocket the cost of milk and eggs. Does $10 billion in gold sound like plenty of "reserves"? It's less than half of what we had just a few years ago — and it now is supposed to support *four times more* in short-term loans to the U.S. How long will foreign countries continue to accept our notes — our promise to pay in gold — *when they know we soon may have no gold?*

Above all—Rickenbacker shows why Wall Street and the entire financial community can be *expected* to be caught napping when the hurricane strikes. (Their slumber is almost a required ingredient.)

How You May AVOID Financial Disaster

If a reading of Rickenbacker's analysis makes sense to you, you'll want to know what steps to take as a hedge against the trouble ahead. The author analyzes all the major investment possibilities — stocks, bonds, convertibles, real estate, cash savings, art treasures, etc. — showing which types of holdings you may want to avoid, which are more likely to provide you with a crash helmet.

Please understand, *this is not a tip sheet in book form.* There is no "sell Tweedledum and buy Tweedledee" advice. This is a financial analysis written in plain (and graceful) English. Any high school student can understand it. The purpose is to show the average investor what *really* is going on in the world of international finance so that he can make more knowledgeable decisions about his current and future investments.

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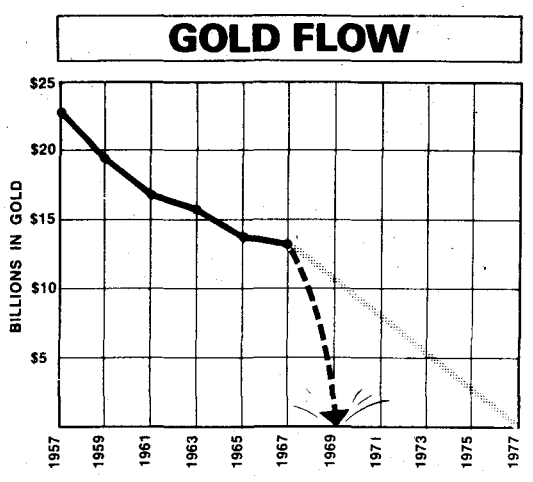

THE CHART TELLS THE STORY. Black line shows loss of gold reserves since 1957 as foreigners cash in dollars for gold. Grey line projects loss of remaining gold by 1977 IF rate of loss stays the same. But the outflow is sure to speed up. Reason: we continue to spend far more dollars than we can redeem in gold. Broken line shows what will happen as nervous creditors lose confidence and "rush" our government in a panic to "get their gold before it's too late". Then the U.S. must stop redeeming dollars for gold or run out of gold — thus driving the price way up and cutting the dollar's buying power. Will it happen this month? In 1969? 1970? No one knows; it could happen any time now.

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"It is certain that the reform [increase in gold price] will have to be carried out. The only question is to know whether it will be done before or after the general crisis."
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William F. Rickenbacker is an independent investment advisor and Wall Street analyst. If you read his first book, *Wooden Nickels* (1966), you know that he flatly predicted that silver prices would skyrocket. If you followed his advice, Rickenbacker has put you in a brand new tax bracket — and you will need no urging to read his new analysis of the gold crisis.

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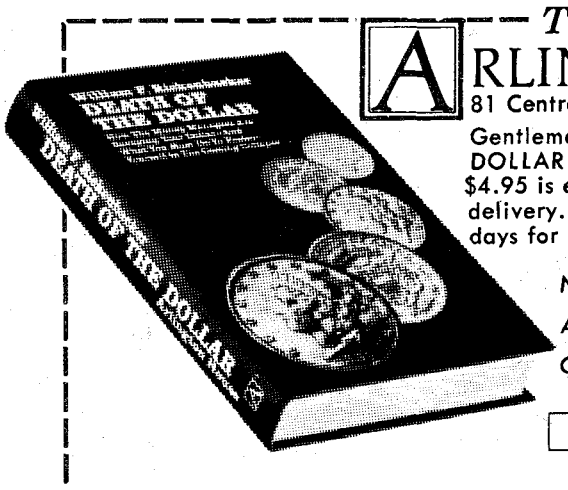

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